TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archæological Society

FOR 1878-9.

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Edited by SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., &c.

VOL. III.

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ERRATA. Vol. III.

Page 38, line 12, for "1671" read 1571.
,, 57 ,, 10, for *Anselme* read *John*.
,, 70 ,, 4th desc. First wife of Sir William Guise, to da. add., *and co-heir*.
,, 95 ,, 26, for *chalices* read *clergy*.
,, 111 ,, 3, for *Kaut* read *Knut*.
,, 115 ,, 28, for *Bonifatius* read *Bonifacius*.
,, 151 ,, 31, for *appanage* read *apanage*.
,, 170 ,, 25, for *cross* read *boss*.
,, 293 ,, 18, for *Paynton* read *Poynton*.
36, for *Ingram* read *Ingham*.
39, for *Dunham* read *Bowden*.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

1878-9.

Part I.

Transactions at the Annual Meeting held at Bristol,

ON

Tuesday, July 30th, 1878, and three following days.

The Third Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Bristol on the days above mentioned, under the presidency of Christopher James Thomas, Esq. The arrangements for the meeting and the various excursions had been made by John Reynolds, Esq., local Secretary, under the direction of a Committee formed for the purpose.

On Tuesday, 30th July, the members of the Society assembled at the Guildhall, where they were received by the Deputy-Mayor, who conducted them to the *Nisi Prius Court*. Among those present were Sir W. V. Guise, Bart., President of the Council; The Right Rev. Bishop Clifford; Sir John Maclean; Revs. W. C. Fox, W. Hazledine; Dr. Wright, (Cheltenham); Alderman Jones; Messrs. C. J. Thomas, A. W. Warren, L. Fry, T. Kerslake, J. Bush, W. Adlam, W. Thomas, H. T. Chamberlain, A. A. Clarke (Wells), C. Wintle, S. H. Swayne, S. Baker Gael (Cheltenham), W. George, John Taylor, P. D. Prankerd, J. S. Metford, C. Peboby, J. Latimer, J. Lavars, J. T. D. Niblett, E. Strickland, A. E. Hudd, and other members of the Society, and several ladies, as well as Mr. Palmer Hallett, Hon. Sec., and Mr. John Reynolds, local Honorary Secretary.

In consequence of the vacancy in the Presidency of the Society, being void by the lamented death of Earl Bathurst during his year of office, the Chair was taken by Sir William V. Guise, Bart., F.G.S., F.L.S., the President of the Council of the Society.

The Deputy-Mayor (Alderman J. A. JONES) addressing the Chairman, said: "I have been requested by the Mayor, who is now on the Continent, on his behalf, and on behalf of the citizens of Bristol, to welcome the Society to the good old city, and to wish the members a pleasant and agreeable meeting. This old city and the neighbourhood afford a fine field of research for the Archæologist, and I trust that all the members of the Society will derive advantage from and enjoy the meeting. I trust also that my fellow citizens will do all in their power to make the meeting agreeable to the members of the Society, and give them every facility for seeing, as fully as possible, all that is worth seeing in the city and neighbourhood. I have much pleasure in welcoming the Society to the ancient city of Bristol." SIR WILLIAM GUISE, in reply, said: "It is my duty, as the representative of the Society on this occasion, to express the cordial thanks of the Society to the Mayor and citizens of Bristol for their kind welcome."

MR. PALMER HALLETT, the General Secretary, then read the Annual Report of the Council, together with the financial statement, showing a favourable balance of £739 4s. 10d. The report was as follows:—

"The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, in this its third annual report, may continue to congratulate the Society on its satisfactory condition. The Society at its very successful inaugural meeting in this city in 1876, reached the number of 400 honorary and subscribing members. It now counts 512, including 500 subscribers, and these numbers, if not showing an increase since the last annual meeting, fill up losses and maintain the substantial position then acquired. The finances, also, are sound. In order to secure the annual claims of life members, it has been decided to invest in Consols the life subscription fees, and the Society will thus possess a funded property of £409 10s. The current account up to the present time, after deducting the estimated cost of the annual volume, shows a cash balance of £179 14s.

"Among the personal losses which the Society has this year suffered is that of its President (the late EARL BATHURST). The Council in a memorial drawn up at its first meeting after his death, and presented to his representative, has already expressed its deep sense of the great loss, which not only this Society, but the county and public generally, have sustained in that lamented event, and the Council believe that in the spirit of that memorial this meeting will fully concur. The cordial welcome which the deceased Earl gave the Society at Cirencester, the deep interest which, notwithstanding his great age, he manifested in its work, and the courteous consideration he showed to its requirements, will long be remembered. Of him it may be truly said that he died full of years and of honours, and it is a melancholy satisfaction to feel that in his address to this Society, written out in his own hand at the age of eighty-seven, which will appear, as it was delivered, in the annual volume; the Society has the last address he ever gave, probably the last effort of his literary powers. Among other losses the Society has to deplore are those of the REV. W. H. BATHURST, of Lydney Park; MR. RICHARD MULLINGS, of Cirencester; and the REV. JAMES GERALD JOYCE, of Strathfieldsaye Rectory, Hants. The REV.

W. H. Bathurst was a member of this Council and a warm supporter of the society at its commencement. Mr. Mullings was a member of the Cirencester local committee of last year, and one of his last acts was the presentation to this Society of an ancient seal of considerable interest. The Rev. J. G. Joyce, well known for his classic work on the Fairford Windows and other archæological monographs of permanent worth, died whilst the important and original address which he delivered to the Society at Fairford last year was passing through the press. In the volume thus containing his last work will be found a short 'In Memoriam' of him, and a brief notice of some of the chief literary works of his valuable life.

"For a report of the work accomplished by the Society during the year now ended, the Council would refer to the volume of Transactions, the first part of which will shortly be issued. The Cirencester meeting introduced the Society for the first time to the great evidences of the Roman occupation of the Cotswold hills, and especially manifested the striking frequency of early Norman work in the churches in these higher regions of our district. At the beginning of the year a winter meeting was held at Gloucester, where a temporary museum was formed and some very valuable papers were read. Full reports of these meetings and papers will be contained in the volume of Transactions. With regard to the volume itself, the Council has this year increased the grant for its preparation. The cost of the Gloucester volume was £112; this year the Council has thought the state of the finances would justify the expenditure of a larger sum, and it has, accordingly, set apart a sum not exceeding £150. The Council holds the annual volumes to be among the best evidences of the Society's efficiency and utility. The monographs they contain will constitute a valuable portion of the work which the Society originally put before it as one of its chief aims, viz.: 'The collection of materials for an improved County History,' and towards such an aim as large an expenditure as possible will prove the best economy The last volume was brought out chiefly under the direction of the Gloucester local committee, and to Mr. John Bellows many acknowledgments are due, both for the good workmanship it displays, and for other special services rendered in its preparation. This year the Council has asked Sir John Maclean, F.S.A., to undertake the editorship of the volume, and it believes that the work, when it appears, will justify the members of the Council in the satisfaction they feel in his acceptance of this post. In futherance also of the above-mentioned object, viz.: the collection of materials for an improved county history, the Council has printed and circulated a scheme of archæological inquiry, consisting of questions calculated to make known the various antiquities existing in the different parishes of the county. The response to these papers has not, in all respects, been as satisfactory as could be desired. The papers returned are extremely valuable, but they are few. They are, however, sufficient to evidence the amount of useful information that a plan of this kind would be capable of securing, and the Council hopes that the scheme will obtain the individual attention and co-operation of members. In reference to the same object a committee of consultation has been formed to co-operate with Mr. G. B. Witts, Civil Engineer, who proposes to survey and map the Roman roads and British trackways

throughout the Society's district. The Council regards this as a work of immense scientific importance, and one yearly becoming more difficult, owing to the gradual disappearance of the objects themselves through the progress of cultivation, and other causes which lead to the loss of historical monuments. Another work which the Society originally laid down as one of the reasons for its existence has not yet satisfactorily progressed, viz. : the formation of a museum and library. Both donations and purchases have indeed been made towards this object, and among the former should be noticed a valuable gift by PROFESSOR ROLLESTON, but in the absence of a local habitation nothing satisfactory has yet been accomplished. Numerous objects of antiquarian interest in the district are constantly being lost for want of a place of deposit; others distributed about in isolated places are bereft of all significance and meaning. In this isolation they are mere *disjecta membra*, but united together in the arrangements of a well-ordered museum, they would illustrate and explain each other, and greatly aid the growth of a systematic and higher knowledge of our local archæology. In the absence of a museum and library a local archæological society appears to be lacking in one of its first requisites, and the Council would recommend the subject to the Society's most serious consideration.

"With regard to the internal constitution of the Society there are no changes of importance either to report or to recommend. The Council would, however, propose an alteration in Rule VIII: viz., changing the word "Vice-president" of Council into "President of Council," a verbal alteration which does not affect the nature of the office as therein defined, but gives it a more adequate expression. In exercising the duty of provisionally filling up vacancies, the Council has appointed Mr. ROBERT LANG a member of Council for the Bristol district, and the REV. HEMMING ROBESON to the same position for that of Tewkesbury. It has also nominated for re-election for the next year the officers at present in office. It has to record the resignation of the Treasurer of the Society, MR. BRAMBLE, and to express its regret that his many private duties prevent him from continuing to give to the Society his valuable and efficient services. The Council have much pleasure in being enabled to nominate the President, MR. C. J. THOMAS, as the successor of MR. BRAMBLE. The following members of Council have retired by lot, viz.: REV. J. W. CALDICOTT, LL.D., REV. W. DYKE, MR. W. C. LUCY, MR. EDWIN CRAWSHAY, MR. ROBERT LANG, REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, F.S.A., SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A. They are all eligible for re-election. The Council has held various meetings during the year at Gloucester and Bristol, and has to express its thanks to the Mayor of Gloucester and the Council of the Bristol Museum and Library for the accommodation courteously afforded for such meetings."

The DEPUTY-MAYOR moved the adoption of the report and financial statement, remarking that they were exhaustive and interesting. He also moved that the Council's nomination of officers be accepted.

The REV. W. C. FOX seconded the motion, and said in this utilitarian age things were judged very much by their pecuniary success, and it was,

therefore, satisfactory to find that the Society had been so successful financially. He heartily congratulated the Society upon the fact of SIR WM. GUISE being appointed President of the Council

The motion was carried unanimously.

MR. J. BUSH moved, and MR. CHAMBERLAIN seconded, that the retiring members of the Council, as named in the Report, be severally re-elected, which motion was unanimously adopted.

SIR WILLIAM GUISE then addressed the meeting. He said: "I think such Societies as the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society are indebted to noblemen who take an interest in them, especially noblemen such as EARL BATHURST, who, at the advanced age which he had reached, placed himself at the head of this Society, and showed by his example an interest in the advance of intellectual knowledge. I wish such interest were more widely felt among others of his lordship's order. The fact is, the longer I live the more I become impressed with the immense force of advancing knowledge; those who do not go with it will inevitably be crushed by it; and therefore I desire to see those who are the natural leaders of society, place themselves at the head of the scientific associations of the country. I greatly regret to see that such is not generally the case. We have a considerable roll of noble names at the head of our Society, and I would have been glad if some one of those noblemen had been with us to-day, and given what support and countenance he could to those assembled on an occasion of such importance. LORD BATHURST set a noble example in this respect; he took his place at the Board and Council table, and accompanied members of the Society on their excursions, and I feel it was a very great advantage to the Society and to the Cirencester meeting. We, the members of the Society, are greatly indebted to his Lordship for his example on that occasion, doubtless at some inconvenience to himself. At the present meeting in this city, on account of its wealth and influence, the Council left it to the local committee to nominate the president, and the committee had decided to elect a very eminent citizen, MR. CHRISTOPHER THOMAS, whom I beg to induct into this chair, which I invite him to occupy."

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

MR. C. J. THOMAS then took the Presidential Chair and addressing the meeting, said:—"I regret exceedingly that your choice of the President for the ensuing year has fallen upon me. Sir Wm. Guise has given you reasons why the office ought to be held by some one of greater position than myself. I can only say that I was pressed to take the office, and that I have felt a lively interest in Archæological pursuits, so far as time has permitted me to attend to them, for a great many years, and, although I feel that the mantle of my predecessors has fallen on unworthy shoulders, I will do my best during my year of office to keep up the interest of the Society. Archæology, which has until comparatively recent times been the study of but a few, and was mainly confined to an acquaintance with the antiquities of Egypt, of the Greeks, and of the Romans, has, in later times,

become the interesting and fascinating pursuit of an ever widening circle of votaries, many of them men of learning and ability, zealously occupying themselves with this branch of science, not only in Europe but wherever civilization has extended. As the knowledge of the structure of the globe on which we are placed and its varied conditions in ages, or, may I not say, in æons long past, has been obtained by the researches of geologists among the strata of which its crust is composed, so the archæologist, when he has discovered the works, or the remains, of ancient man which by good fortune have not been destroyed or disturbed, accumulates the facts of such discoveries, and deduces from these facts a far wider and more accurate knowledge of the early condition of humanity than was previously possessed, a knowledge stretching back far beyond the age of letters or of the most primitive records. As instances of the value of recent archæological research and its results, allow me to mention the discoveries of DR. SCHLIEMANN, in Greece, and of MR. WOOD, at Ephesus. By means of discoveries such as these, and others of still earlier periods, we are enabled to trace back the progress of humanity, which in its beginnings is shown to be of low type and of great rudeness, and we can compare those times with these our later days—days in which sciences and arts have tended in their development to a vast improvement in the moral, the mental, and the material condition of mankind. I must confess that the views to which I thus briefly allude, are those which, for me, constitute the chief interest of archæology; but the programme laid out for the present session of our Society is mainly of a comparatively modern date. We are about to visit some of the mediæval buildings of Bristol and its vicinity. I am far from saying that any of these should stand injuriously in the way of modern comfort and convenience, or be hindrances to the requirements of the present and the future; but as far as possible these memorials should be preserved with loving care. We are in old Bristol and in old Britain. Our inheritance from the past is a rich inheritance. If our ancestors had, as men, their faults and their failings—let us not dwell upon these needlessly, let us rather sustain the fine buildings and the worthy institutions they have left us; let us keep alive their munificent charities, not in a literal spirit, but maintaining them as we believe our forefathers would have carried them on, in the lights of a later age. And not only in Bristol, but in the wider extent of the fine old shire of Gloucester, which is the sphere of our Society, may the veneration of the past lead us so to act that the future may have reason to look back with complacency on our deeds and monuments. If we act in such a spirit our Society will have a life of usefulness, and render itself worthy of present and of future success."

MR. GAEL (Cheltenham) proposed a vote of thanks to the President for his address, which, being seconded by MR. ADLAM, was agreed to with applause.

The PRESIDENT briefly acknowledged the compliment.

The members than left the Guildhall, and at two o'clock they proceeded to view Canynge's House, in Redcliffe Street. The site is now occupied by the extensive premises of Messrs. C. T. Jefferies and Sons, the printers to

the Society, and the members present were courteously received by Mr James Jefferies, who pointed out to them the portions remaining of the old house, and especially directed their attention to a remarkable ancient tile pavement still remaining *in situ*.

THE MAYOR'S LUNCHEON.

On leaving Canynge's House the party proceeded to St. Mary Redcliffe School Room, were a sumptuous lunch had been kindly provided by the Right Worshipful the Mayor. The party was received by the REV. CANON NORRIS, the Vicar of the Parish, who, in the Mayor's absence, had been specially requested by his Worship to act as host in his behalf. CANON NORRIS accordingly presided, and about one hundred and fifty ladies and gentlemen partook of the hospitality so kindly offered. After the repast the President on behalf of the Society proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor for his obliging consideration and to Canon Norris for the use of the School Room, which having been heartily adopted, CANON NORRIS said: "The Mayor was very desirous personally to welcome the Society to Bristol, rather as a Redcliffe man than as Mayor of Bristol. His Worship greatly regretted his inability to be present, He was then on his way from Switzerland, and hoped he might reach Bristol in a day or two.

The VICAR then conducted the party to visit his Church, the far famed St. Mary Redcliffe, which for a great number of years has been in course of restoration at a vast expense. CANON NORRIS took the members around the building, and read a paper pointing out in a very lucid manner the various architectural details of the structure, but inasmuch as the paper will be printed *in extenso* it will be unnecessary to advert to it further. The President, on behalf of the Society, thanked Canon Norris for his interesting and valuable paper. The party then, under the guidance of MR. JOHN TAYLOR, proceeded to visit

ST. JOHN'S HOSPITAL AND HERMITAGE.

MR. JOHN TAYLOR here gave a good description of the buildings. The lane by which the Hospital is reached is now called Jones' Lane, which MR. TAYLOR said was a corruption of St. John's Lane, and was so named from the small religious Hospital of St. John the Baptist, of which no structural remains were now visible, but which stood on the site of the "Friends'" Cemetery, the precincts being probably defined by the Cemetery wall. The histories of Bristol give no account of the Hospital, but in the REV. THOS. HUGO'S work on the "Mediæval Nunneries of Somerset," was notice of a deed which showed that the house was founded for both "brethren and sisteren." Respecting the Hermitage it was stated in Smyth's Berkeley MSS that Lord Berkeley founded a hermitage at Bedminster, near Bristol, in 1346, and placed John Sparks therein for life. It had escaped the notice of writers on Bristol history that the Hermit's Cell referred to still exists entire and unaltered. Redcliffe stood within the old Berkeley Manor of Bedminster. The Hermitage can now be entered under the original pointed arch. The

Oratory was provided with two seats cut out of the solid rock, here the Hermit said his prayers or looked out upon the green banks of the Avon, with the mitred abbey of St. Austin's on the further margin, or upon the glorious church of St. Mary, which, with the buttressed walls and traceried windows of the Hospital, must have made, on the whole, a scene worthy of the days when picturesqueness was almost a religious study.

MR. J. S. KNIGHT said an excavation had been carried under Redcliffe Parade to Messrs King's yard, and in 1741 the passage was used for the confinement of Spanish prisoners. He produced an old Bristol paper, called "The Oracle," in which the fact is recorded. There could be no doubt, he said, "that the passage was also used by smugglers."

TEMPLE CHURCH.

The party then proceeded to Temple Church, of which fine old edifice a brief though interesting description was given by the REV. W. HAZLEDINE, the Vicar. The date of the present Church is 1145, and it was called the "Church of the Temple," or "of the Holy Cross." He observed "that there were so many historical and social circumstances connected with the Church, that he thought he had better reserve a longer paper for another occasion. He called attention to the length of the chancel, the leaning tower, and a curious candelabrum. He also referred to the connection of Colston with the Church. Stating that it was in contemplation to restore the tower, he expressed a hope that sufficient funds would be obtained for that purpose. The Weavers had a special Chapel in the Church.

MR. JOHN TAYLOR also read a short paper on this church. He remarked that the Knights Templars had a small church or chapel here. The Order was suppressed in 1310 through the machinations of Philip IV. of France; and the Kings of England and France intended to retain all the possessions of the Order, but they found they could not keep the lands, though they did the movable goods, and the former, in England, were, in the year 1324, granted by Edward II. to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or "Knights Hospitallers," as they were usually called. It was not, however, until after much litigation and the expiration of many years, that they obtained possession, for the lands had been seized by the Chief Lords of the Fees, as escheats.[1] Some had not been acquired as late as 1338, and perhaps never were. In that year, by order of the Grand Master, Elyan de Villanova, an extent was taken by Philip de Thame, Prior of the English Langue, of all the lands and tenements of the Order in England.

1 In the vestry of the church is preserved a charter, dated in the 12th year of King Edward II. (1318), by which Richard Amory, Knt. granted to the Prior and Canons of St. Augustine one acre of land adjacent to their own close, and contiguous to land which he himself held that had formerly belonged to the Templars. This was between the date of the suppression of the Templars and the grant of their lands to the Hospitallers.

From this survey it appears that the small possessions of the Order in Bristol formed a member of the Bajulia, or Preceptory of Templecombe, in co. Somerset,[1] and are thus described :—

Bristoll membrum

Est ibidem una parva ecclesia appropriata que valet per annum, iiij marcas.
Et de redditu assiso per annum *ij marce et dimidia*
Et placita et perquisita curiarum valent *j marcam*[2]

The "*parva ecclesia*" here mentioned was, without doubt, the predecessor of the edifice which we are now inspecting. It is said that these lands were granted to the Knights Templars by Robert, illegitimate son of King Henry I., who married Mabel, one of the co-heiresses of Robert Fitz Hamon, and was thereupon, in 1100, created Earl of Gloucester, and became Lord of the Castle and Town of Bristol. It is also said that the Templars commenced the erection of their church here in 1145.

In the recent restoration the apse of the original church was discovered, whose eastward termination nearly coincided with the present chancel, the dimensions being 43 ft. by 23 ft. The original church possessed the privilege of sanctuary which the Hospitallers successfully maintained against the Burghers of Bristol until 1534, when it was abolished.

It will, perhaps, have been noticed that in the Weavers' chapel, at the east end of the north aisle, is a somewhat modern inscription, which states that this "Chappell, and a piece of ground thereunto belonging, [was] granted in the reign of Edward the First to the company of Weavers, for their use for ever, 1299." As these lands and the Church, throughout the whole of the reign of King Edward I., were possessed by the Knights Templars that Order must have been the donors if such a grant were made.

Votes of thanks were passed to the Rev. Mr. Hazledine and to Mr. Taylor, and a hope was expressed that further particulars regarding this interesting Church would be given in a future paper.

St. NICHOLAS CHURCH.

The last place visited was the Crypt of St. Nicholas Church, where Mr. J. F. Nicholls gave a short description of it, which will be printed in this volume.

All the readers of papers were severally thanked by the President (Mr. C. J. Thomas) on behalf of the Association.

1 The Preceptory of Templecombe was valued in 26th Henry viij. at £107 16s. 11d., according to Dugdale and Speed; and £128 7s. 9d., according to a MS. of Le Neve. The site was granted 34th Henry viij. to Richard Andrews and Leonard Chamberlain, and probably the Bristol member was included in the grant.—Ed.

2 The Hospitallers in England.—Camden Soc., p. 184.

THE ANNUAL DINNER.

The annual dinner of the Society took place in the evening, at the Queen's Hotel, Clifton, when about forty guests sat down, under the Presidency of MR. CHRISTOPHER JAMES THOMAS. The President was supported by SIR WILLIAM GUISE, the HON. and RIGHT REV. BISHOP CLIFFORD, SIR JOHN MACLEAN, DR. S. H. SWAYNE, MESSRS. W. GEORGE, J. TAYLOR, W. ADLAM, B. PRANKERD, JACQUES, J. S. METFORD, C. PEBODY, HALLETT, E. STRICKLAND, J. BUSH, J. LATIMER, J. REYNOLDS, JOHN LAVARS, J. R. BRAMBLE, REV. W. C. FOX and MISS FOX, J. D. T. NIBLETT, REV. W. B. and MRS. OAKELEY, and others.

At the conclusion of the repast, the PRESIDENT, reminding the meeting of the short interval to be devoted to speaking, briefly proposed "Success to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society." He congratulated the members upon the success achieved that day, and trusted it would continue throughout the remainder of the meeting.

SIR WILLIAM GUISE, in acknowledging the toast, said "There was no doubt that the Society was a success. He was sorry to see so small a muster at the dinner, because in a populous place like Bristol he had expected to see a larger gathering. However, it was not in those agreeable dinners, or the admirable luncheon of that day, that their success consisted; for he regarded their published work as the true test of what they were doing, and in that respect they had every reason to be satisfied. Their new volume would be in the hands of subscribers shortly, and, edited by his friend, SIR JOHN MACLEAN, it would be found an extremely valuable and useful work. He mentioned, in conclusion, as a proof of the success of the Society, that while at the meeting last year at Cirencester the members did not number many more than four hundred, there were now five hundred and twelve upon the list."

The HON. and RIGHT REV. BISHOP CLIFFORD, in proposing the health of the President, spoke of the success of the Society having resulted from the ability with which those occupying the position of President had performed their work.

The PRESIDENT briefly responded, and bore willing testimony to the assistance given by the General Secretary, MR. HALLETT, and the Local Secretary, MR. J. REYNOLDS, with whose aid he hoped to have a very successful year during his period of office.

THE EVENING MEETING.

The company at eight o'clock proceeded to the Museum and Library, in the theatre of which was held the evening meeting for the reading of papers. MR. C. J. THOMAS again presided, and there were about sixty persons present. The President having briefly opened the proceedings, SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., read a paper on "Elmore and the Family of Guise," explaining that the paper was only a tentative one, to be developed and completed at a future time, after he should have had the opportunity of access

to the muniments at Elmore. He said that having been applied to by the Secretary, he had consented to read it to them in its crude state that evening. Commencing with the origin of the family of Guise, he exhibited the charter of John de Burgh, son and heir of Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, the Grand Justiciary of England, whereby John de Burgh granted to Anselme de Gyse, for his homage and service, the manor of Elmore. Sir John pointed out that the charter is undated, but that having discovered the fine levied on the occasion he had fixed the date as 1274. He called attention to the seal, which is in fair condition, and is charged with the arms of de Burgh, lozengy, gules, and vair. He pointed out that these arms, with a mullett on a canton for a difference, were afterwards assumed by the Gyse family ; it being a practice not uncommon in early times for a mesne lord to assume, as a mark of honour and respect, the arms of his superior. And Sir John exhibited a charter of Reginald Gyse, who died in 1487, the seal of which is charged with the arms so differenced. He stated that in modern times the arms of the Guise family had been slightly altered. Other documents of the 13th and 14th centuries were produced by the speaker in the course of tracing the descent of the Guise family from the earliest times, and the audience were interested in the exceedingly good state of preservation in which these documents were found.

Sir W. Guise expressed his personal indebtedness to Sir John Maclean for the trouble he had taken in the preparation of his valuable paper, and the writer was also accorded the thanks of the meeting. The paper will be printed in this volume.

Mr. Thomas Kerslake read an interesting paper on "The historical first cause of St. Werburgh's Church." The writer remarked that having sometimes said that the date of the original foundation of the lately demolished church of St. Werburgh's was the year 741, and that a building, so called, had from that early date always stood on the spot; he had been asked how he knew it ; he had answered, by the same evidence as the most important events of our national history were known : viz., by necessary inference from the very scanty records of those times, confirmed by such typical monumental evidence as might have survived. This fact was in itself of considerable importance to our own local history, because if it should be realised it would be the very earliest solid date that had yet been attached to the place we now called Bristol. Having dealt at some length with the early history of Bristol and its neighbourhood, the writer went on to state that there were still known in England thirteen dedications of churches or chapels in the name of St. Werburgh, although, perhaps, not more than half of them were any longer above ground. Seven of the thirteen were within the counties of Stafford, Chester, Shropshire, and Derbyshire ; that was, they were within the original kingdom of Mercia ; but the other six were extraneous, and three of them great stragglers. These must have owed their origin to political and military extensions of the influence of that kingdom, and they were found in places where Æthelbald, one of the three Mercian aspirants for English empire, had made good a conquest, and it might therefore be believed to have been his usual method of making his mark of possession. Indeed, there could be little doubt that most of

the seven that were found at home, within Mercia, were also of Æthelbald's foundation ; probably all except the present Chester Cathedral, which arose out of the translation of St. Werburgh's relics to that place nearly 200 years later. St. Werburgh was the daughter of Wulfhere, the second Christian King, who was the son of Penda, the last Pagan. In A.D. 675 Wulfhere was succeeded by his brother Æthelred, who placed his niece St. Werburgh at the head of the three great convents for women, with a sort of general spiritual charge of the female portion of the newly-Christianised kingdom. She was said to have died about the year 700, for it was noted that on opening her coffin in 708 that her body was found unaltered and her vestments undefiled ; and from this time, sealed by this reported miracle, the renown of her sanctity soon grew into beatification, and when eight years afterwards her kinsman Æthelbald began his reign she had achieved the reputation of the latest national saint. The most notable of the miracles credited to her was that one of her corn-fields being continually ravaged by a flock of geese, at her mere command they went into exile. As this was said to have happened near Chester, it was easy to refer the story to the monks there, who alone were interested in gilding her shrine with it ; and her relics were not translated to Chester till nearly 200 years after her death. At any rate we, in this city, are living witnesses that her name was no safeguard to her heritage against the devastation of wasteful bipeds, who are not only unwise, but also unfledged. It appeared that in 743 Æthelbald of Mercia, and Cuthred of Wessex, became allies, and the frontier between Mercia and Wessex having been finally determined, the name of Æthelbald's recently beatified kinswoman was thrice repeated along his own north bank of the Avon—at Bath, at Bristol, and at Henbury. It is hence inferred that these three dedications were contemporary with each other, and the immediate result of the transaction of 741, when an entry in the Saxon Chronicle recorded the final subjection of Wiccia to Mercia. and the establishment of the Bristol Avon as the permanent southern frontier of Mercia. Without delaying to discuss the condition of the spot now occupied by Bristol when the church that for nearly 1150 years had stood upon it was first planted there, the writer proceeded to account for the other dedications referred to, pointing out that the evidence in regard to them tended to show that they were the habitual seal of Æthelbald's advance, and remarked also that Offa (Æthelbald's great successor in his kingdom and his policy,) entertained a similar foretaste of chivalry, having in like manner left the name of a female saint, though not a kinswoman, as a symbolic mark of his conquests.

A vote of thanks was accorded MR. KERSLAKE for his paper.

DR. BEDDOE, F.R.S., then read a paper "On the Craniology of the Interments at St. Werburgh's Church," which will be printed in this volume.

A vote of thanks having been accorded to DR. BEDDOE, the proceedings terminated.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 31st.

This day was fixed for the first Excursion. The members of the Society and their friends, including many ladies, and numbering upwards of a

hundred persons, assembled at the QUEEN'S HOTEL, at 10 o'clock. Among those present were C. J. THOMAS, ESQ., President of the Society; SIR WILLIAM V. GUISE, President of the Council; The HON. and RIGHT REV. BISHOP CLIFFORD; SIR BROOK KAY, Bart.; SIR JOHN MACLEAN; and many eminent archæologists from a distance. Some delay occurred in starting, in consequence of the fine morning having tempted a larger number to join in the excursion than was expected, and hence additional carriage accommodation had to be provided; but, through the exertions of MR. JOHN REYNOLDS, the conductor of the excursion, this was soon obtained, and about half-past ten the whistle gave the signal to start, and a somewhat long train of four-horse breaks, and wagonettes, and private carriages, passed out through Whiteladies' Road, and across Durdham Down to

WESTBURY-ON-TRYM.

Here a paper was read by MR. JOHN TAYLOR, of the Bristol Museum and Library. The place is mentioned, MR. TAYLOR said, in a charter of the famous Offa, King of the Mercians, as "Westbury prope flumen diatur aven." The church is spacious, handsome, and complete in its arrangements; viewed from any point, within or without, it gratified the eye by its fine proportions and details. The round columns and pointed arches of the nave; the west wall of the south aisle, with its triplet windows; and the south wall of the same aisle, below the level of the moulded string course beneath the window sills, were of the 13th century or early English architecture, as was also the noble arch with its deeply cut mouldings and foliated capitals. Within the south porch the tower corresponds with the body of the structure, which is of perpendicular date. The church was probably the joint erection of Bishop Carpenter and the munificent Canynge, each of whom is stated by Dugdale to have repaired the monastery. During the progress of the restoration of the church in 1853, beneath the altar was discovered a subterranean chapel lighted by a window. Part of the chapel had been used for vaults. The floor was laid with encaustic tiles, many of them bearing the arms of Bishop Carpenter. Beneath the window was a raised ledge, probably the site of the altar, and in the south wall was a piscina. Close by was the despoiled tomb of Bishop Carpenter, as appeared by a curious fresco, which at the same time was discovered, and which represented the funeral procession of that prelate from Worcester to Westbury, the name of "Worcetta" being plainly painted on the gate of the town. There were other curious paintings, and the arms of Bishop Carpenter were prominently introduced. On the opposite side of the chapel was a small recess, supposed to have been intended for the grave of Dean Canynge.

The church groups well with the massive embattled and ivy-mantled tower, and other remains of the ancient college, which were incorporated into the spacious 18th century mansion, which some fifty years since was the residence of the Hobhouse family. When MR. TAYLOR concluded, a vote of thanks to him was proposed by the President, which was very cordially agreed to. A monograph on Westbury Church and College, by MR. TAYLOR, will be printed in this volume. Having inspected the church in detail, and

examined a curious ancient Chest, &c., in the vestry, and also some ancient buildings in the village, the party returned to their carriages, and proceeded to

BLAISE CASTLE.

Leaving the carriages some distance within the entrance gates, the company, by the obliging courtesy of MRS. HARFORD, enjoyed a most agreeable ramble through the very picturesque and romantic scenery for which this place is famous. The hill was ascended by some of the party by a circuitous winding path, rising from a deep gorge, on the opposite side of which was pointed out the Giant's Chair of the legend, the arms of which are fancifully formed by two projecting rocks. From the top of the hill is a magnificent view, and here a very interesting address was delivered by the HON. and RIGHT REV. BISHOP CLIFFORD on the Chain of Earthworks of the Severn Valley, and the Roman Road from Bath to Caerwent. He said that camps some two thousand years ago were used by all nations—by the Romans, by the Gauls, by the Sarmathians, and the Dacians on the Danube, by the Gauls and Germans on the Rhine; then by the Britons, and the Saxons, and the Danes; and the difference between these camps was in the degree of perfection with which they were worked by the more civilized nations, and in the plan of the camps; and here marked how the camps constructed by one people were used by others consecutively, so that camps in England, built by the Romans, were occupied by the Britons and then by the Saxons. It should be borne in mind that camps, as they saw them now, were but the ruins of camps. Far more had perished than what remained, and it was now difficult to realise what the use of a camp was at the time it was constructed. They could learn partly what it was, however, by incidental descriptions from ancient authors, but he thought that what would be found most useful to them for this purpose would be the study of the two columns of Trajan and Antoninus. He thought of these the one of Antoninus would be found the more interesting, because the wars of Antoninus were with the Germans, and the habits of the Germans were much like those of the Gauls and Britons. There was a great difference between the representations on the column of Trajan and those on the column of Antoninus. The camps of the Romans and of the Barbarians could always be distinguished on the columns. Those of the Romans were constructed by the soldiers themselves. Above a mound was a wall, and cut stone and timber were employed, and soldiers were represented as engaged in cutting timber and stone, while it would be observed that the camps of the barbarians were made of rough stone. The buildings inside the camp were, among the Romans, of cut stone, and had some pretensions to architecture, but those of the barbarians were very coarse, while those of the Germans were always represented as round huts made of straw or reed, thatched with straw. That was the way in which they were generally represented. Among the various representations there were of these camps in the column of Antoninus there was one most interesting, because it represented, in miniature, a complete German camp, constructed by Roman soldiers. After describing this camp at some length, the Bishop remarked that it was not

uncommonly stated that Roman camps were square, but that was a generalisation not always correct. Many were so, like the Prætorian camp in Rome, but many were not so, and were merely adapted to the position of the ground. It was remarkable that, though many camps were represented in the columns to which he had referred, there was not one that could certainly be said to be square. The Roman camps were always represented with one short front, but the remainder of the camp was circular, forming the figure of the letter D. They were represented with a mound at their base, but always surrounded by a "wall of cut stone." The camps of the barbarians were represented as of much rougher construction. Referring to the camp particularly in question—was it Roman, British, or Saxon? It was certainly used by the Romans, and Britons, and Saxons, as he should show; but whether first constructed by Romans or Britons might be a question. The position pointed it out as a likely place for a British settlement, even before the Romans, but he knew not of any positive evidence that could be cited. That it was used by the Romans was proved by the Roman coins being found there. They learnt that A.D. 50, Ostorius established a line of forts along the Severn; that compared with these works the British were described as rough embankments; and that the work was performed by German auxiliaries. They were driven, then, to one of two conclusions, either that these were the camps erected by Ostorius' German soldiers, or else they were British works, in which case, where were the works of Ostorius? They must admit that the great Roman work had perished, while that of the Britons had survived. The Bishop further described the invasions made from time to time on this coast, and the efforts put forth to repel them, and concluded by some remarks on the ancient passage of the Severn, and the Roman Road from Caerleon to Bath, a dissertation by him on which will appear in this volume.

A vote of thanks was accorded the Bishop, on the motion of the President.

HENBURY CHURCH.

After an inspection of the ancient armour at Blaise Castle, the party walked through the grounds of the Castle to the Church, where the REV. JOHN HUGH WAY, the Vicar of the Parish, very courteously received the party, and pointed out the special characteristics of the edifice, and also gave a short account of the Manor. He said that it appears from Thomas's "Survey of Worcester" that thirty cassats of lands at Henbury and Aust, with certain fisheries in the river Severn, were held by Oftsor, the second Bishop of Worcester, who, in 691, the year of his consecration, granted both the land and the fisheries to that See. MR. WAY mentioned also that it appears from Domesday, that in the time of King Edward the Confessor, Huersburie in Bermintre Hundred and Henbury were held by the church of *St. Mary*, at Worcester, as they were at the time of the Survey.[1] He

1 The following is a translation of the Domesday Record.—Lands of the Church of Worcester, in the Hundred Bermintree. St. Mary of Worcester held and holds Huesberie: there were and are 50 hides: in the demesne there are two carucates, and 8 villans, and 6 bordars, with 8 ploughs. There are 4 bondmen and one bondwoman (Ancilla). To this manor pertain these members: Henbury, Redewicke, Stoke, Gicte.

also said that it is stated that the Bishop of Worcester built a Palace at Henbury, and he, the Vicar, considered that it probably occupied the site upon which the Vicarage House now stands. In Pope Nicholas' Taxation, 1288-91, the Bishop of Worcester is stated to hold in Henbury, in *salso marisco*, £40 of annual rent.[1]

Henbury Parish borders the Severn for 12 miles and more.

The church originally consisted of a chancel, with a chapel on the south side of equal length ; nave, and north and south aisles. The chancel orientates considerably to the north. Both the chancel and the chapel had, originally, eastern windows of triple lancets. The east window in the chancel was destroyed long ago, and a poor modern window was substituted some time in the last century, and this has now been replaced by five lancet lights. In the north and south walls of the chancel, and in the chapel, the original triple lancets are preserved. The remains of the ancient altar in the chapel have recently been discovered. In 1830 an aisle was built on the north of the chancel in imitation of the chapel on the south. The nave is of six bays, divided from the aisles by lofty circular columns, the bases of which are much lower on the south side than on the north. These support pointed arches of the early English period, except those of the eastermost bays. These were originally round, but in 1830 the round arches were removed, and replaced with pointed arches in brick, for the sake of *uniformity*. In the recent repairs, these brick arches have

In these there are 9 carucates in demesne, and 27 villans, and 22 bordars, with 26 ploughs. There are 20 bondmen and two bondwomen, and 20 colibeiti with 10 ploughs, and a mill of the value of 20d.

To the manor belong 6 Radchenistre, having 8 hides and 8 ploughs They are inseparable from the manor ; and in Bristol are two houses rented at 16d.

Of the lands of this manor, Turstin, the son of Rolf, holds 5 hides in South Clive ; and Gilbert, the son of Thurold, 3 hides and-a-half in Contone ; and Constantine, 5 hides in Icctune. In these lands are 5 carucates in demesne, and 13 villans, and 12 bordars, with 12 ploughs. There are 11 bondmen. Of the same lands of this manor Osbern Giffard holds 5 hides and does no service. The whole manor with its members was valued at £24. Now the demesne of St. Mary is valued at £29 14s. 6d., which 9 freemen hold.—ED.

1 The following is the record :

WORCESTER TEMPORALITES.

Taxation of the temporal goods of Worcester.

	£	s.	d
The Lord Bishop of Worcester has at Hambury, in *salso marisco*, of rent of assize, per annum	40	0	0
And he has there 5 carucates of land and the value per carucate, per annum is	1	6	8
And he has there one dovecot, whose value per annum is	0	6	8
And of the pleas and perquisites there...	8	0	0
And he has there one water-mill and one windmill, which are of the value per annum	5	0	0
Sum £60 0 0			
Item he has at Hambury of rents of assise	12	0	0
And he has there 3 carucates of land, and value per carucate	3	0	0
And the pleas and perquisites there, per annum	2	0	0
And of the profits of the Store	1	0	0
Sum £24 0 0			

Taxatio Ecclesiastica P. Nicholas, p. 225.—ED.

been taken down and re-built in stone to correspond with the others. As no stones could be found of the ancient round arches it was impracticable to restore them. The nave possesses a good clear-story. Mr. Street, under whose direction the church has recently been restored, is of opinion that it was originally built about the time of King Stephen.

The Vicar directed attention to the capitals of the columns of the door-way in the south porch, which are of a very uncommon type. He said that Mr. Street had stated that capitals of this particular character are only found in the neighbourhood of Wells and Glastonbury, and in the diocese of St. David's; and that he had also found them in Christ Church, Dublin, but no where else in Ireland have they been seen with round mouldings as in the south porch at Henbury. It was conjectured that they had been introduced into Christ Church by Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke.

The thanks of the Society having been given to Mr. Way for his interesting address, the company adjourned to the National Schoolroom, which had been obligingly placed at the disposal of the Committee by the same gentleman, where luncheon had been provided, which having been partaken of, and Mr. Way's obliging courtesy acknowledged, the party strolled through the grounds of Henbury Court, in which a remarkably fine old clipped yew hedge was greatly admired. Resuming the carriages, which had come round from Blaise Castle, the party proceeded to the

CHURCH OF COMPTON GREENFIELD.

This edifice, which is small, is situate in an open pastoral district. It possesses an interesting Norman door-way, within the south porch, of the later period of the style (cir. A.D. 1160), enriched with a moulding of three members, containing the beak, fret, and zigzag ornaments, respectively. The chancel arch, though somewhat pointed, and an arch leading into a shallow transept, appear to be contemporary with the door-way just

It may not be generally known that King Henry viij., not only when unable from sickness to write his name but at various times during his reign, caused his sign manual to be affixed to documents by means of a stamp. Towards the close of his reign, Sir Anthony Denny, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, was entrusted by the king to sign official documents, in this manner, with his majesty's name; but some doubts having occurred, either to Sir Anthony or others about the court, as to the legality of this practice, a special pardon was granted to Denny for all acts thus done by him by the king's command (*See Rymer, ed.* xv., *p.* 100). On 31 August, 1546, a commission was issued authorising Sir Anthony Denny and others to sign documents by stamp in the king's name, and specifying the manner in which it should be effected; two of the commissioners were to affix the king's signature, without ink, with a dry stamp, and one of them afterwards fill up and blacken with ink the impression so made, and thus complete the sign manual. The king's will was signed in this way.

Among the documents signed as above was an agreement between the King and the Bishop of Worcester, whereby the King took of the Bishop the Lordships and Manors of Bishop's Stoke and Henbury, and the Hundred of Henbury, in co. Gloucester, giving to the Bishop and his successors for ever the manors of Grymley and Hallowe, in co. Worcester, with other lands, to the yearly value of £135 6s. 9½d. This was stamped in the month of January, 38th Henry viij. (1546-7); the King died on 28th of this month, (State Papers, Henry viij., vol. I., pp. 629, 895). In the following year the Manor and Hundred of Henbury were granted to Sir Ralph Sadlier.—Ed.

described. The tower is of 15th century work, and is picturesquely covere with ivy. Thence the party proceeded to

KNOWLE PARK,

Where the members were received with great kindness and courteous hospitality by MR. and MRS. SHOLTO VERE HARE. Several interesting objects of antiquity, and much curious old china, were shewn the party at the house, which, after a brief though agreeable visit, was left *en route* for

ALMONDSBURY CHURCH.

Cresting the hill above this church is a Roman entrenchment, forming, with Blaise Castle, Clifton, and other similar works, part of the defences of the Severn Valley raised by Ostorius. Almondsbury Church is a spacious edifice of the cruciform type. At the intersection of the nave and transepts rises a tower, surmounted by an octagonal spire. The building was originally of the early English period, but it has greatly suffered from so-called "restorations," almost amounting to re-construction. The chief portions of the original work now remaining are found in the chancel, in which is a handsome double piscina, enriched with deep mouldings. It has a credence shelf. In the tower is a small, but beautiful, 15th century transomed window. There are few monuments of interest. In the south transept is a tomb, of the date of 1577, with full length figures in low relief commemorating Edward Veell, Esq., and Mrs. Katherine Veell, his wife. There is also a 13th century tomb to a person unknown. Tradition assigns it to Alhmond, the father of Egbert, the first Saxon prince who became sole King of England, and died, cir. 837. It is thought by some that it is from Alhmond that the place derives its name,

On returning from Almondsbury the members were received with the greatest hospitality at the Manor House, Redland, by MR. and MRS. REYNOLDS. This is one of the most interesting and characteristic residences in the neighbourhood of Bristol. It was built by a man who played a conspicuous part in the public life of the city in his day, and whose name is still preserved by the bequests which he made at his death to each of the ancient parishes of Bristol—we mean Francis Glede, who, as Mayor, had the honour of proclaiming Charles II., at the High Cross, in 1660. The date of the house is 1658, and it is especially rich in quaint examples of the domestic architecture of that period. MR. REYNOLDS threw open the whole house and gardens to his visiters, and, the inspection over, the day's excursion was very pleasantly brought to a close with tea and a plentiful supply of grapes and other fruit.

THE CONVERSAZIONE.

A Conversazione was held at the Bristol Museum and Library, in the evening, at which several Papers were read. The PRESIDENT, on taking the chair, said that the Right Worshipful the Mayor had returned to Bristol that afternoon, and, seeing him present at the meeting, he was very glad to have the opportunity of offering his congratulations on his return, though he feared that his Worship's tour had been shortened by his desire to hurry home to take part in the proceedings of the Society.

The MAYOR said that he had to express his regret at not being present to welcome the Society in person as he desired, but he felt confident that his worthy representative had received the members on their visit to this ancient city in a way worthy of the city. He was also sure that when the Society visited Redcliffe on the previous day the Rev. Canon Norris had done all in his power to make the visit a pleasant one, so that between the gentlemen named and his worthy friend the President of the Society, he trusted nothing had been wanting. He much regretted his absence the previous day, and expressed a hope that he would have many opportunities of meeting the Society during its stay in Bristol. The following papers were then read:—

1.—On the Ancient Guilds of Bristol.
By MR. ALDERMAN FOX, Master of the Guild of Merchants Adventurers.

2.—On the Ancient Privileges of the Bristol Freemen; whence derived; how lost; how recovered; and how maintained.
By MR. J. F. NICHOLLS, F.S.A.

3.—On the Manor of Clifton.
By Mr. A. S. ELLIS.

4.—On certain Antiquities found at Berkeley.
By MR. J. T. IRVINE.

5.—The History of the Portrait of Sebastian Cabot, attributed to Holbein.
By MR. W. GEORGE.

The first four papers will be found printed in this volume.

MR. GEORGE'S Paper, slightly shortened, is as under:—

"The portrait of Sebastian Cabot, supposed to have been painted by Holbein, by the order of Edward VI., as a compliment to the great seaman, remained in the Palace at Whitehall seventy-two years after that king's death. Purchas, in his "Pilgrimes," published in 1625 (vol. IV., p. 1812), mentions the portrait as being still there, and he prints an extract from the historical Latin inscription on it. As there is evidence to show it was *not* there in 1674, the inference is that it was sold soon after the death of Charles I., when the fine-art contents of Whitehall, and of his other palaces, were disposed of by the dominant power. In 1792 the late C. J. Harford, Esq., F.S.A., the well-known Bristol antiquary, whilst travelling in Scotland, saw the portrait at the seat of a nobleman (Slain's Castle); and many years afterwards his friend the late Sir Frederick Eden[1] had the pleasure of gratifying Mr. Harford's anxious wishes by procuring it for him.[2] About 1830 Mr. Richard Biddle, a distinguished lawyer of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, was in England, engaged in historical investigations, the result of which was the "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," published

1 Author of "The History of the State of the Poor," 3 vols., 4to., 1797.

2 *Vide* "Memoir of Cabot," 1831, Appendix "F."

anonymously in 1831.[1] In pursuing his enquiries he spared neither labour nor expense. Hearing that the portrait of Cabot, mentioned by Purchas, was in the possession of the representatives of Mr. Harford, he became very desirous to have it. The owner was communicated with; at first he was not inclined to sell, but afterwards he was induced to name a sum which (it is said) was supposed would not be given for it, viz.: 500 guineas! To his surprise it was at once taken at that price, and Mr. Biddle carried his treasure home to Pittsburg.

In 1845 an extensive conflagration occurred at Pittsburg, when Mr. Biddle's house and its contents, *including the portrait*, were, unfortunately, consumed. Thus the original painting of Sebastian Cabot, Governour of the Mysterie and Companie of the Merchants Adventurers, was destroyed, on that great continent, which, nearly three centuries and a half before (1497), in the good little ship "The Mathew of Bristowe," he and his father were the first to discover.[2]

I am indebted to the late Major C. J. Biddle, of Philadelphia, for the account of the destruction of the picture, and for some other facts embodied in the above narrative, which he kindly communicated to me in 1858, when corresponding with him, relative to a note of mine on Cabot, in *Notes and Queries*, for that year.[3]

The seller, the buyer, "Several eminent London artists," and all the biographers of Cabot, have pronounced the portrait to be by Holbein. Now as Cabot is represented in advanced old age, and wearing the official massive gold chain and rich dress of the Master of Merchants Adventurers, to which office he was elected in 1551, and as Holbein is *now* known to have died in 1543, that is, eight years *before* Cabot's election to his Mastership, and five years before his return to Bristol from Spain, we must reluctantly come to the conclusion, that in ascribing the painting to Holbein these connoisseurs and biographers have been mistaken.

In this portrait Cabot is represented half-length, with a full face, which has an expression of profound thought. His eyes are dark hazel, and his figure must have been tall and commanding. In his right hand is a compass, which is placed on a large globe standing on a table. The important historical inscription is in the top left-hand corner, and reads as follows: "Effigies Seb. Caboti Angli, filii Johannis Caboti Veneti Militis Aurati, Primi Inventoris Terræ Novæ sub Henrico VII., Angliæ Rege." In the right-hand corner is his motto "Spes mea in Deo est."

1 R. Biddle died in 1847, aged 51. For a notice of this eminent Statesman, See Dr. Allibone's "Dictionary," *sub-nom.*

2 "It is well known that Columbus, whose great achievement of 1492 has placed him on a pinnacle of renown which neither rivalry nor detraction can ever eclipse or undermine, was himself preceded in the actual discovery of *terra firma* by John and Sebastian Cabot. It was not till 1498 that that prince of navigators lighted on the north coast of South America, whereas it is a fact beyond all question that in 1497 John Cabot, accompanied by his son, Sebastian, was on the east coast of North America."—R. H. Major, F.S.A., &c., in "Archæologia," XLIII., p. 17.

3 N. and Q., 2nd S, V., 263, 285.

Sebastian Cabote tould me that he was borne in Brystowe and that at III yeares owld he was caried with his father to Uenice and so returned ageyne into England with his father after certeyne yeares whereby he was thought to have bin borne in Uenice

The quarto engraving in Seyer's "Bristol," vol. ii., page 208, has made this interesting painting familiar to most of us. There is also a photo-lithographic copy of Seyer's engraving prefixed to Mr. J. F. Nicholls' "Life of Cabot," which is so well done as to have deceived Mr. Stevens, the American Bibliographer, who, in his little book "The Cabots," page 31, erroneously calls it an "excellent line engraving." A vignette of the painting in question, delicately engraved by Storm, was published in America, in 1838, an impression of which, with an India proof of Seyer's plate, I beg to place before you. A re-production of the latter, on a reduced scale, is liberally presented by Mr. George (Plate 1).

These are the only engravings of Cabot's portrait known to me. Our regret for the destruction of this celebrated painting is somewhat lessened by learning, from Mr. Stevens, that after its removal to America, an exact copy, full size, was taken and is now preserved in the Gallery of the Massachusett's Historical Society, U. S., America.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 1st.

This day was entirely devoted to visiting certain places of interest in the city of Bristol. The Society met at the Mayor's Chapel, at 10 a.m. Here Mr. John Taylor read a short, but interesting, paper, printed in this volume, for which he was cordially thanked by those present through the President, and the company proceeded to inspect the various details of the edifice. The tombs received much attention, particularly those of Miles Salley, Bishop of Llandaff, and of Sir Thomas de Berkeley and his wife. The Bishop's Effigy is under a canopy. He is represented in cassock, alb, dalmatic, stole, maniple, and chasuble, with a mitre on his head, which rests on a pillow, supported by angels, and there is a dog at his feet. There is a pastoral staff on the left side, with the crook turned outwards, and enriched by a scarf. The hands are covered by jewelled gloves, and the episcopal ring is worn over them. The effigy is beautifully carved. The effigies of Sir Thomas de Berkeley and his lady are also under a canopied recess. The Knight is shewn in plate armour, a sword on his left side suspended from an embossed belt. He wears a helmet on his head which rests upon a mitre. The female figure has fine flowing drapery, a round cap, a necklace with a pendant cross, and the head is supported by angels. The feet of both figures rest against dogs. In the midst of the aisle are two fine altar tombs whereon are the effigies of two knights, represented cross-legged. They are both habited in chain mail, over which are surcoats belted at the waist. Their heads are covered with *coifs de mailles*, and resting on pillows, set diagonally. Dogs support their feet. One of them has his hand on the hilt of his sword, and on the left side of the other is a plain shield. It is uncertain whom these effigies represent, but it is supposed that they commemorate Maurice de Gaunt and Robert de Gurnay, the original founders of the Hospital.

In the Poyntz Chapel Sir John Maclean called attention to the series of Poyntz monuments in the church of Iron Acton, and as he had heard that the church was about to undergo restoration, and as prevention was easier than remedy, he suggested that the Society should adopt some measures to secure, if possible, the preservation of those memorials of an ancient family.

The company then proceeded across College Green to the Cathedral, and having inspected the exterior of the sacred building, the ancient Gateway to the Bishop's Palace destroyed in the riots of 1832, and other early structures, assembled in Chapter House, where Mr. RICHARD JOHN KING, of Crediton, recently, to the grief of many friends, called to his rest, read a paper on the Cathedral, which will be printed in this volume. Upon its conclusion, MR. KING received the thanks of the Society, through the President. The party then proceeded into the Cathedral, where MR. KING pointed out the many interesting details and special characteristics of the building. The next place visited was

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH,

Where MR. JOHN TAYLOR acted as *cicerone*. He said: All Saints' Church is stated by William, of Worcester, to have been founded before the Norman Conquest. This is, perhaps, doubtful, but the four stout circular piers which support the Priest's House at the western end of the south aisle, are of the Norman period. The earliest reliable mention of the church seems to be in A.D. 1216, at which time it was assigned to the use of the Guild of Kalendars. This was a fraternity of clergy and laity, to whom was committed the custody of the archives of the town, and whose office it was to keep a monthly register of public acts and local events. It was also a Guild of Literature, and the library of the Guild was the only public one in the town, and it is believed to have been the earliest instituted in England. The south aisle was the chapel of the fraternity, and in its present form is of the 15th century. The north, or Jesus, aisle was re-built in 1782. The existing tower was finished about 1716. Eight new bells were cast for the church in 1728. The handsomely carved pulpit appears to belong to the time of James I. A few years since the walls and pillars of the church were coloured with arabesque ornamentation, being a conjectural resuscitation of the mediæval adornment of the fabric. The house on the south was the vicarage, and was originally built by Sir Thomas Marshall, Vicar, and one of the fraternity of Kalendars, about the year 1422. A portion of the frontage is incorporated into the western end of the church, being supported, as already stated, by the stout Norman piers of the nave. This causes a singular depression to the first bay of the Church, the height of the interior, thus far, not being above that of an ordinary porch. On the N.W. angle stood the library, but this portion was destroyed on the re-building of the north aisle in the last century. The sumptuous, half-recumbent effigy, which commemorates the great Bristol philanthropist, Edward Colston, is by Rysbach.

THE MUNICIPAL TREASURES.

The principal chamber at the Council House, was devoted to an exhibition of the regalia, &c., of the Corporation, and here the visiters were received by the Mayor (ALDERMAN EDWARDS), and the City Treasurer, (MR. HARFORD), the Town Clerk, MR. BRICE, who remained indisposed, being represented by his Deputy, Mr. D. T. BURGESS. The City Librarian, MR. J. F. NICHOLLS, displayed the Mayor's kalendar containing civic memoranda from 1479, and numerous pictures, including a representation of the induction of a new mayor, and the register of wills dating from 1382, and

MR. NICHOLLS remarked that these and the other books in the collection were treasures which no city in the empire could surpass. The speaker then gave an explanatory statement respecting the regalia. The oldest of the four swords was given by the Mayor of London to the Mayor of Bristol in 1506, and for the youngest of the set our ancestors in 1753 gave the then considerable sum of £180. The maces and seals were next carefully examined, and the speaker directed special attention to the charter by which King John, in the year 1188, laid the foundation of Bristol's restored liberties.

SIR JOHN MACLEAN remarked that Ricart's Mayors' Kalendar had been printed by the Camden Society, and suggested that the same Society might, possibly, undertake to print some of the other records if the requisite permission of the municipal authorities could be obtained, and an efficient editor found. MR. NICHOLLS said the Mayor would, no doubt, grant the necessary facilities.

The company, highly gratified at the display of so many objects of remarkable interest and value, now proceeded to the Hall of the Guild of Merchants Adventurers where a most elegant and recherche collation, consisting of every delicacy which could be procured in viands, confections, and fruit, and the choicest of wines, was given to the Society by the Master of the Guild (MR. ALDERMAN FOX). MR. FOX presided, and was supported by MR. C. J. THOMAS, the President of the Society, the HON. and RIGHT REV. BISHOP CLIFFORD, SIR WILLIAM GUISE, Bart., SIR BROOK KAY, Bart., SIR JOHN MACLEAN, and others. A large number of guests were present. After the repast a few toasts were drunk, among which, of course, was the health of the Master, proposed by the President of the Society in suitable terms, in which he thanked the Master, on behalf of himself and the members of the Society, for his splendid hospitality. On the toast of "The Ladies" being drunk it was responded to in easy and fluent language by MRS. P. HALLETT.

The archæologists now paid a visit to the

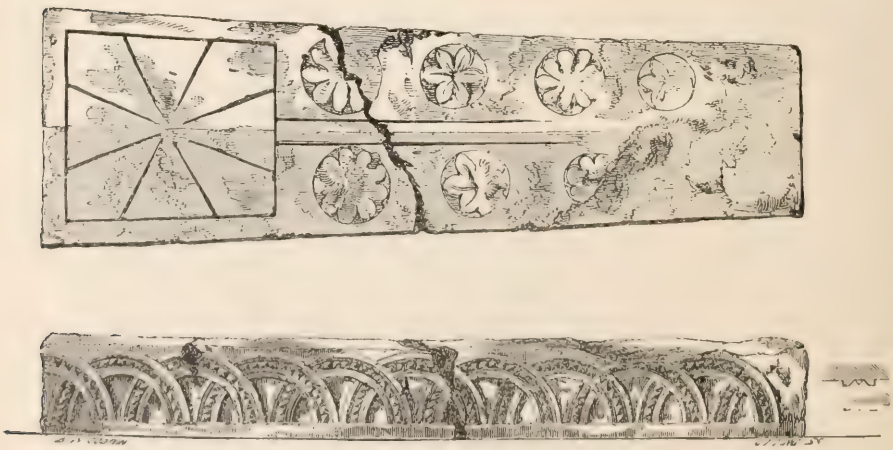
CHURCH OF S.S. PHILIP AND JAMES.

MR. JOHN TAYLOR acted as *cicerone*. He stated that the building was originally the Chapel of a Religious House of the Order of St. Benedict, which was situate to the east of the present edifice. The date of the church is uncertain, but MR. TAYLOR stated that it is mentioned as early as 1174, and that in 1388, Henry Wakefield, Bishop of Worcester, appropriated the rectory of St. Philip to the Abbey of Tewkesbury; and he stated that there is in the Bristol library an original Charter, dated at Tewkesbury on 20th August, 1393, by which Thomas, Abbot of Tewkesbury and the monks there, appointed Brother Richard Worcester, Prior of St. James at Bristol, to take possession of the Church of S.S. Philip and James on their behalf, and to receive the tithes and oblations. MR. TAYLOR pointed out that the church was originally of the Early English period, and directed attention to some capitals in the tower, of that style, with stiffly carved foliage, and the portions of the ribs of a vaulted roof which the pillars to which these capitals belonged supported. A deeply recessed, boldly cut arch, in the same style, leads from the basement of the tower to the church, and

a similar one divides the north side of the chancel from the nave. The nave consists of three exceedingly wide bays, and is separated from the aisles by arcades of massive piers, having no capitals and apparently no bases ; the mouldings, seeming to rise out of the ground, are continued round the soffits of the arches. There were two chantry chapels in this church, founded severally by J. Kemys and Robert Forthey. These are of Perpendicular work, and are divided from the chancel by depressed arches. During some repairs in 1824 the roodloft staircase in one of the piers of the chancel arch was disclosed. The entrance was found to be built up with painted and gilded fragments of capitals of pillars, &c. More recent investigations have shewn that these piers have been built over and enclose beautiful pillars of Early English work, which occupied the area of the present chancel.

The ancient wooden roof of the nave still remains ; it is of the date of the end of the 14th century, but is concealed by flat ceilings.

There is a Norman font, but it is greatly mutilated, and preserved in the church is an ornamental coffin slab of the same date. This was found lying in the Churchyard in 1824, and was removed into the Church. It is slightly ridged and tapers towards the foot. The sides are decorated in a rich and rather singular manner, by intersecting semi-circles, enriched with the nail-head ornament. The East side, or that at the foot, is more elaborate than the others. The arch here spans the whole width of the tomb and the spandrils, or spaces between, are filled with a kind of stiff foliage in low relief. The top is incised and consists of eight roundels, four on each side, irregularly placed, and enclosing flowers of nine and six leaves alternately. The spaces between the leaves are sunk. At about two inches apart, running up the centre of the slab, are two lines, forming, as it were, the shaft of the cross. This coffin lid has been engraved to illustrate a description by Mr. W. E. Godwin, in the Bristol Book of the Archæological Institute, 1853, published by Mr. G. Bell, to whom we are indebted for the use of the block (fig. 1).



(Fig. 1.)

From the character of the ornamentation, Mr. Godwin considered the monument might be safely referred to the latter part of the 12th century.

Sir John Maclean called attention to the pillars of the nave before alluded to, saying he could not believe that the arcades, with arches of such very wide span, were ancient, and he enquired if, in the alterations which had from time to time been made in the church, any excavations had taken place, and if any bases to the columns had been discovered.

A member replied that they had excavated for a considerable depth without reaching the bases.

Canon Cooper suggested that the interments might have had something to do with it.

Mr. Nicholls said the spot was marshy and had been frequently flooded; probably that would account for the circumstance.

THE CASTLE.

On returning from St. Philip's church into the city, several houses in Castle Street and near the Castle were visited, with the permission of the inhabitants. An interesting paper was read by Mr. J. F. Nicholls on the ancient Castle and on the portions of it which remained. As showing that the Castle was a really fine one he quoted the lines written about it at the time of re-building by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, who

> Rered here a castell with a noble toure,
> That of all the towers in England is said to be the floure.

At the conclusion of Mr. Nicholls's description, Mr. Thomas, as President of the Society, thanked him for his paper, and he thanked also those who had given the Society facilities for visiting the place and making a peaceful invasion. The Paper will be printed hereafter. The party then repaired to

THE BLACK FRIARS,

Where a paper was read by Mr. J. Taylor, on "The Dominicans in Bristol," which will be printed in this volume.

A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Taylor for his interesting paper, and the party then proceeded to

ST. JAMES' CHURCH,

Where the members were courteously received by the Rev. T. Graham, the Vicar of the parish. Mr. J. Reynolds acted as guide and described the edifice. It was originally the Church of a Benedictine Priory, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. James the Apostle. Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the founder, is said to have devoted one-tenth of the stone which he had obtained from Normandy for the erection of his Castle, towards the building of this Church. It originally consisted of chancel, nave, and north and south aisles, but upon the dissolution of the Priory, when the domestic buildings were removed, the chancel of the Church was also destroyed. Both aisles have been re-built at different times, so that the only portion of

the original Norman Church now remaining is the nave, the west part of which, Mr. Reynolds described as very good. Above the doorway is an arcade of intersecting arches, three of which are pierced for circular-headed windows, over which is a beautiful rose window. The clear-stories also remain, but are concealed by the adjoining houses. The nave is divided from the aisles by massive Norman pillars supporting semi-circular arches.

In the vestry some ancient deeds were exhibited.

Thus ended this day's work. There was no meeting in the evening. The Mayor of Bristol entertained a large number of the members of the Society and other gentlemen at a banquet at the Mansion House. Amongst the guests were the Mayors of Gloucester and Cheltenham (who wore their chains of office), the HON. and RIGHT REV. BISHOP CLIFFORD, SIR WILLIAM GUISE, Bart., SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., Mr. C. J. THOMAS, (President of the Society), Mr. WAIT, M.P., MR. GAMBIER PARRY, MR. ALDERMAN FOX (Master of the Merchants Venturers' Company), Mr. W. ADLAM, MR. P. HALLETT (general secretary), Mr. JOHN REYNOLDS (local secretary), REV. C. W. FOX, &c. The banquet was of more than usual magnificence, and the array of ancient Corporation plate on the table excited great interest amongst the assembled guests.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 2nd.

The concluding meeting of the Society was held this morning at the lecture theatre of the Museum and Library. MR. CHRISTOPHER J. THOMAS, the President, occupied the chair.

The Chairman said they might congratulate themselves on the very favourable weather, which was an element in the comfort of such a meeting, and on the zeal which had been displayed by all their friends in promoting the success of the meeting He then proposed that the best thanks of the Society be given to the Mayor of Bristol, the Master of the Merchants Venturers' Company, and Mr. and Mrs. S. V. Hare, for the markedly kind and courteous hospitality with which they had welcomed the Society to Bristol; also to the Mayor and Corporation, the Dean, the Merchants Venturers' Company, the clergy, ladies, and gentlemen of the city and its neighbourhood for the facilities and assistance they have afforded the Society in the prosecution of its work; and to the ladies and gentlemen who had so generously contributed objects of value to the temporary Museum; also to those gentlemen who had so ably and efficiently acted as guides for the explanation and illustration of the various objects of interest visited; to the gentlemen who had advanced its aims and objects by the preparation of the valuable papers read during meeting; and to the Local Committee for the admirable arrangements made for the meeting, and especially to MR. REYNOLDS for his energetic, efficient, and valuable services as local Secretary.

These resolutions having been carried separately by acclamation.

MR. R. LANG expressed his regret that the Society had not found time to visit his collection of china.

Mr. P. Hallett (general secretary) remarked that they were already indebted to Mr. Lang for what, he hoped, would form the nucleus of the Society's Museum.

Mr. J. F. Nicholls, F.S.A., in responding for the guides, added that Mr. Lang was really the father and founder of the Society.

Sir John Maclean replied for the readers of papers; and Mr. J. Reynolds (local secretary) acknowledged the compliment paid to himself, observing that he had been aided by a very efficient committee who worked thoroughly well.

Sir John Maclean remarked that it was usual at the final meeting to nominate the President for the next year, and appoint the place of meeting, but, he said, the Council was not prepared, from circumstances beyond its control, to do so on this occasion. Some slight difficulties had arisen which had caused delay in coming to a conclusion, and he therefore proposed "That the question of the place of meeting and the election of a President for 1879 be left to the decision of the Council."

Dr. Wright, of Cheltenham, said he thought the Council had already settled it, and Mr. Hallett having rejoined that something had been done, the speaker said it ought to be before them.

Mr. Hallett said the Council had proposed to visit Cheltenham, but he thought the reply was to the effect that it was desirable to have a little more time to make enquiries as to the capabilities and desirability of holding the meeting at Cheltenham. If the town was prepared to receive the Society next year he did not know that the Council had any more to say. It was the first favourite in the list of possible places.

Dr. Wright replied that there need be no delay. The resources of Cheltenham were quite equal to the reception and entertainment of the Society for three days. If any town had equal pretensions let the meeting hear it. But he would rather choose a bad place than none; delay would drift us into difficulties.

Mr. Gael and Mr. Middleton, of Cheltenham, having been called upon to express an opinion, agreed with Dr. Wright.

Sir William Guise, Bart., President of the Council, said he quite concurred as to the desirability of holding the next meeting at Cheltenham. One of the chief difficulties which had arisen was the choice of a fit and proper President, but he thought they could get over it without much trouble. Perhaps it would be as well to determine now to meet there, and leave the appointment of a President to the Council.

The Chairman agreed that they had better have something definite.

Sir John Maclean, as mover of the resolution, accepted Sir William Guise's suggestion, which was unanimously adopted.

Dr. Wright added that even if Lord Sudely, whose name had been mentioned, failed, they knew whom they had in Sir William Guise.

SIR WILLIAM GUISE proposed a very cordial vote of thanks to MR. THOMAS for his unremitting and valuable attention during the week; and to MR. HALLETT, the general secretary. All felt their great indebtedness to MR. THOMAS for the very admirable manner in which he had worked the present meeting of the Society. In this city nothing could be more appropriate than that the local committee should have selected so eminent a citizen as MR. THOMAS to lead the Society on that very interesting occasion, and they all highly esteemed the good qualities which he had shown.

The vote of thanks was passed with special heartiness.

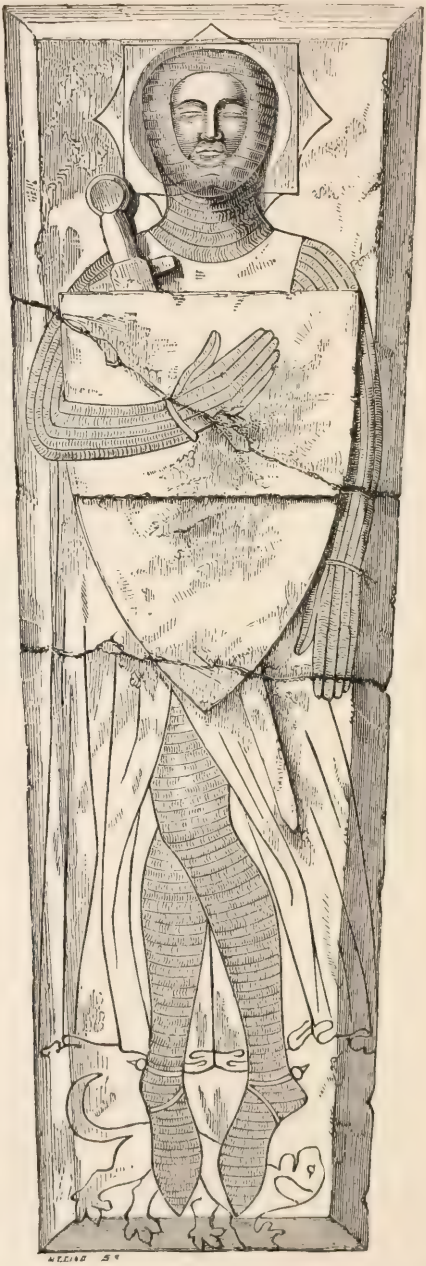
MR. THOMAS and MR. HALLETT fittingly responded, and the party then started on the last excursion, in which a considerable number of ladies and gentlemen joined. The party first proceeded to Hanham Abbots, an old moated Grange of the Abbots of Keynsham. The REV. MR. FRY gave a brief description of the Church, which by late additions to the Grange, now forms, apparently, a part of that mansion. MR. KING pointed out the roof of the south aisle as a somewhat rare and well-preserved specimen of peculiar style. The bell is 500 years old, and was probably removed from the Abbey. The large party was entertained by GEORGE GARRARD, Esq., who not only threw his house open to the visiters and ministered to their bodily wants, but kindly described the ancient home of the Creswickes and the articles of vertu with which it was furnished. There was also an old bedstead of oak on which Cromwell is said to have slept, and sundry other objects of archæological interest. Passing Hanham-hall, the seat of MR. WHITTUCK, which a few of the party visited and described as a mansion of the middle of the 17th century, the next halt was for luncheon at Bitton. Unfortunately the Vicar was from home, and the party, all strangers to the Church, had to hunt out its many and great points of attraction.

A Memoir on this Church and Parish (with illustrations), by that able and veteran archæologist, the REV. H. T. ELLACOMBE, formerly Vicar of the Church, was read before the "Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society" in 1875, and is now being published in the Transactions of that Society. [1] We have been very courteously permitted to embody some portions of this exhaustive paper (which is the result of 60 years labour) in the following remarks on Bitton Church.

The Via Julia, the Roman Road from Bath to Bristol, passed through the village, and the Church is supposed to occupy the site of a heathen temple. Remains of Roman bricks have been discovered in the Norman masonry of the western wall of the nave. Tesseræ of Roman pavements have turned up in the church-yard with an abundance of Cinerary ware and burnt earth, whilst a large number of Roman coins have been found in the neighbourhood.

The benefice was, from a very early but unknown date, a Prebend of the Cathedral of Salisbury. The Church itself is of great antiquity. On the east side of the Church the abaci of the original semi-circular arch remain *in situ*. There was formerly a plain hood-moulding. The voussures

1 Vol. III., N.S. p. 537.



(Fig 2

(Fig. 3)

of the arch were perfectly plain, and rested on plain jambs of long and short work. Over this arch are the fragments of a colossal figure of our Lord treading upon a dragon. Massive blocks of ashlar masonry of Norman date may still be seen in the north and south walls.

The Church was, originally, cruciform, the place of the north transept being occupied by a tower, which was removed when the present west tower was built, which latter was erected on a portion of the nave, whereby the nave was shortened. This fact was ascertained, on the removal of some portion of the pavement of the present tower, by the discovery, about six inches beneath it, of the original entrance step to the church, *in situ*. Moreover, on the outside of the tower, in a line with the outside south wall of the Church, were found the foundations of two flat Norman buttresses. On the site of the north transept a Mortuary and Chantry Chapel was erected in 1299, by Thomas Button, or Bitton, Bishop of Exeter, over the graves of his father and mother, interred there. This Chapel is dedicated to St. Katherine. Two very interesting and early sepulchral slabs, representing a knight and lady, were found in 1822, a few inches below the surface of the floor of the destroyed south transept.

The Effigy of the Knight is on a slab of black marble, about three inches thick, and is partly incised and partly in relief. He is represented as clad in a hooded hauberk and chauses of mail, the rings set edgewise, of which the fingers are divided. The head is raised in relief more than any other part, the projection of the nose being more than two inches from the surface. Over the hauberk is a sleeveless surcoat. The outlines of the legs with the chauses are incised, as are also the folds of the surcoat and the figure of a dog at the Knight's feet. Over the effigy is an heater-shaped shield, slightly raised, charged with the arms of Button, *Ermine, a fess gules*, which arms are shewn in the east window of Exeter Cathedral as those of Bishop Bitton or Button (Fig. 2).[1] The other slab, which lay alongside that of the knight, is of the 13th century, and is inscribed ✠ EMMOTA ⋮ ⋮ DE ⋮ HASTINGS ⋮ GIST ⋮ ICI ⋮ DEV ⋮ DE ⋮ SAAL ⋮ ME ⋮ EIT ⋮ MARCI ..... No record respecting her has been found. She is supposed to have been an heiress and a wife, and though marrying a second time to have retained the name of her first husband. The head and the cross fleury beneath are in low relief (Fig. 3). An empty stone coffin, with a cavity for the head, was also found in 1843, on the site of the south transept, together with other monumental remains, the most interesting of which were two small recumbent effigies, supposed to represent chantry priests

1 Bishop Button died in 1307. His father, Adam de Button, died 1299. The fashion of the armour would fix the date of this effigy between 1250 and 1265, probably in the earlier part of this period. Robert, son of Robert de Button and the father of Adam, bought land of Nicholas de Oxenbay in 1237 (Pedes Finium), so that there can be no doubt, we think, that he is the person commemorated. The effigy is in several respects remarkable. The closed eyes is an early and unusual feature. There is a cross-legged Effigy in the Temple Church, London, like it, and there are some few other examples. The Effigy partly incised and partly in relief is also uncommon, as is also the position of the sword and shield, which became an Italian fashion a century later. We are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe for use of all these blocks.

(Fig. 4.)

or Prebendaries of the Church. These were lying on the floor of the chapel, but upon a very careful examination of the ground underneath no trace could be found of bodies having been there deposited. These figures are described by Mr. Bloxam as "rare specimens of sculptured ecclesiastics of the canonical orders." They are clad in surplice and aumasse, or almuce, a furred hood worn over the head. With slight exceptions they are in good condition. It is supposed by Mr. Ellacombe that as they represent Canons their original depository might have been in the chancel. Each figure is about 3 feet in length, and Mr. Ellacombe considers they may be classed with the effigy of the Boy Bishop, in Salisbury Cathedral. (figs.4 & 5.)

(Fig. 5.)

The Archæological Association of Somerset met at Bath, in July, 1876. In the excursions of the members to places of interest in the vicinity they visited Bitton. MR. E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., was one of the party; he was greatly pleased with the church, which he had never previously seen, and observed that as a parish church, judging from the great length of the nave, it might be compared with St. Alban's, among Cathedrals. He further remarked that the neighbourhood of the Via Julia, and the fragments of Roman ware, which had been dug up from time to time in the vicarage grounds and in the churchyard, prove that the Romans occupied this spot; and there still remain, untouched, stones which were placed in their present position by builders in the period next after the Latin, probably on the site of a Roman basilica. He added: The existing nave of the Church is essentially Norman in character, and it presents the usual features of a nave of that period—great length and height in proportion to its width. The Norman corbel-table is preserved on both the north and south aisles, and there is good reason for believing that the north wall has never been disturbed, except for the insertion of the present two-light windows. There are traces in the wall on the interior (and the manner in which these traces have been preserved, and are left uncovered, is beyond all praise) of two or three round-headed Norman windows, which have been walled up; but there are two fragments of greater interest than these; near the east end of the north wall are distinctly to be seen the large stones of an archway of much earlier date than the Norman Conquest, and near the ground is a block of masonry which the least tutored observer would see is of the same character as that in the little Church of St. Lawrence at Bradford-on-Avon. It is, undeniably, primitive Romanesque work, done by those English ancestors of ours whom people will call Anglo-Saxon, and believe such an amount of fiction about. This archway was the entrance, either to a north tower or north transept in the first church on this site. On the south side the foundations of a corresponding transept

have been found, though the archway has been replaced by a very late Perpendicular window, pointing to the conclusion that it was destroyed on the abolition of chantries. On the north side, however, interments have been allowed, in times gone by, so close to the Church that any similar evidence has been swept away. Again, the present chancel arch, which stone for stone replaces a late Norman one removed in 1843, is built within a still older arch, the rough capitals of which can still be seen on the chancel side. On the nave side there is an old string course of the same date as the first arch, and above it a portion of a carving, of which no one can positively say what it is ; but it might be, and is generally believed to be, the feet of the holy rood. On the north side of the Norman entrance a plain but good doorway still remains, and, apparently, this section was not disturbed by the Perpendicular builders, though finding a rough piece of stone at the end of one of the mouldings they carved it and finished it in their own style. There is a finer doorway on the north side, from which the chancel arch is copied. This must have been either the western entrance or a north entrance ; I am inclined to think the latter, as more in character with the plan of the church. It is now within the church, at right angles to the west wall of the chantry chapel, and there are some who think it has been shifted. I do not fancy, myself, that it is far from its original position, though its eastern side has been cut down to make room for other work.

SISTON CHURCH

Was next visited. Mr. King described it as a small Norman Church, with a 1220 chancel almost untouched, a good south door of Norman work, and a north door with tympanum, now built up into a window. The curious Norman font of lead on a stone pedestal excited much attention, and it was determined to have an engraving and description of it for the Society. Illness in Siston-Court prevented a visit to that noble old mansion, and the party hastened to Pucklechurch, where they were received by Canon Coney, who briefly described the Church, and showed his beautiful grounds. Mr. Swayne read a historical paper on Pucklechurch, prepared by Miss Swayne whose grandfather was its Vicar for 59 years. George Crabbe, the poet, was at one time a curate here. The old registers showed that in and from 1500 to 1650 the average of baptisms was about eight per annum. Miss Swayne was heartily thanked for her interesting paper. Mr. King pointed out an admirable flamboyant window on the north side ; a curious specimen of a decorated tomb, outside the Church, built in between two remarkably fine English buttresses ; also a very wide built-up Norman doorway of early date. Some of the party rambled to the site of the palace where Edmund the Elder is said to have been slain by Leofyn. The archæological excursions were here ended, and the party turned homewards, unanimously avowing that a pleasanter week, with fewer drawbacks, had never been spent by them ; and parting from each other with mutual good wishes and hopes of a re-union at Cheltenham next year.

TEMPORARY MUSEUM.

The following Articles were exhibited in the Temporary Museum.

By REV. G. W. BRAIKENRIDGE, Clevedon, Somerset—

Key found in the Moat of Bristol Castle.

Ciborium, or covered bowl, of copper-gilt and enamelled, said to have originally belonged to Malmesbury Abbey ; both the bowl and cover are ornamented with subjects in medallions formed by very elegant scroll work of foliage. The six subjects on the cover are from the Life and Passion of Christ ; while the six subjects on the bowl represent the antitypes of those scenes from the Old Testament history. The figures are principally in gilt metal with a background of blue or green enamel. On the scroll work are engraved Latin verses describing the subjects. On the cover we find :—

1. Nativity—Virgo Maria fuit que Dominum genuit.
2. Presentation in the Temple—Offertur magnus nunc a populis Deus agnus.
3. Baptism of Christ—Baptizat miles regem, nova gratia legem.
4. Christ bearing the Cross—Sic alapis cesus pia dicitur hostia Jhesus.
5. Crucifixion—Ut vivas mecum felix, homo, dormio tecum.
6. Resurrection—Surgit de tumulo petra Christus quem petra texit.

The corresponding subjects on the bowl are as follow :—

1. Aaron's Rod blossoming—Virgo ducem fert virga nucem, natura stupescit.
2. Sacrifice of Abel—Agnus Abel munus agnum prius optulit unus.
3. Circumcision of Isaac—Precessit lavacrum sacra circumcisio sacrum.
4. Isaac bearing Wood—Ligna puer gestat crucis unde tipum manifestat
5. Brazen Serpent—Serpens serpentes, Christus necat ignipotentes.
6. —Samson breaking out of Gaza—Samson de Gaza conclusus ab hostibus exit.

The colours are remarkably vivid and varied. The top is surmounted by an enamelled knop, with four projecting leaves. Within are medallions representing Christ in Glory and the Agnus Dei. The lower part of a similar bowl is preserved at Warwick Castle, and is engraved in Shaw's "Decorative Arts of the Middle Ages" and in "Art Treasures at Manchester," Vitreous Art, p. 22. Probably German Work, 12th Century. Diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$ in ; height, 7 in.

Pair of Candlesticks of copper-gilt and enamelled; they have triangular bases, on each side of which is a medallion, enclosing a man with shield and club, supported on each side by a Lion. These figures are in metal on a blue ground with white spots; on the knops are monstrous birds. These Candlesticks have originally had prickets, which have been removed and nozzles substituted at a later date. Limoges work, 13th Century, Height, $8\frac{3}{4}$ ins. (See Plate II.)

Mazer-bowl, called the "Tokerus' Bowl," made of maple wood, with a deep silver rim, parcel-gilt, on which is engraved on the outside, in Lombardic capitals, the following sentence, each word being divided by a figure of an ape, a dog, a pig, a stag, a huntsman, fruit, or flower:—

"✠ BE YOW MERE AND GLADE AND SOO THE MASTER TOKERUS DO BYED." (Fig. 6)

(Fig. 6.)

Inside the bowl is a medallion, with deeply cut merchant's mark of an inverted cone, from the point of which rises a cross with three crosslets; flowers engraved between. Hall-marks, leopard's

head; a Roman capital R (not in a shield) of 1554, and a maker's mark of a sort of arrow-head; the piece itself is, however, at least 50 years earlier in date. Diameter of bowl, 9⅝ in. At a later period, a low standing bowl or tazza had been added in an inverted position to make a stem and foot to the bowl, which originally had none; this cup is chased and engraved with cartouches, &c., and has inside a helmeted bust within a laurel-wreath, outside is written in small italic letters :—

"*Non donum sed donatorem*, 1621."

and H.E. with a merchant's mark between. This additional foot bears the usual hall-marks and a small black letter ſ in a shield for 1671. Height altogether, 7¾ ins.

William Addames' Chronicle.—This volume is intitled :— * * * or pettie Chronicle of the first | Inhabitants of this famous Iland, with | all the Kings that haue raigned here since | the time of Brutus agreeing to the most comon | and vulgar reportes | collected from Thomas Lanquet, and other | authors, shewing the Trojan race, with | theire wicked and treacherous beginninges, theire | barbourous life, and miserable end that God | in his justice brought vnto them | for theire manifold offences.

In the margent of every leafe is first the | yeares from the Creation of the world, in the | second number the yeares before the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Written in Bristoll, by William Addames, in anno 1625.

Missal made at Bristol, by order of Philip Kingeston, Merchant, Anno Domini, 1479.

Gold Ring found in the River Frome.

By the Hon. & Right Rev. Bishop Clifford, Clifton, Bristol—

Sermons, very fruitful, godly, and learned, preached and set forth by Master Roger Edgeworth, Doctor of Divinity, Canon of the Cathedral Churches of Salisbury, Wells, and Bristol, residentiary in the Cathedral Church of Wells and Chancellor of the same Church, &c. Printed by Robert Caly, Anno, 1557.

By Mr. Cromey, Queen's Road, Bristol—

Old Bristol China Vases.

By Mr. Alderman Fox, 72, Pembroke Road, Clifton.

An exact delineation of the famous Citty of Bristoll and suberbs thereof, together with all the highwayes, thorough-fares, streets, lanes, and publick passages therein contained, composed by a scale Ichnographically described. Engraven and published by Ja: Millerd, Cittizen and Inhabitant there, 1673.

By the President, C. J. Thomas, Esq.—

Curiously carved wooden model of a Norwegian Timber Church.

Drawings, &c., of Norwegian Churches.

By JOHN REYNOLDS, ESQ., Manor House, Redland.

Models of an Indian Elephant and of a Bullock Cart, carved in Ivory. Beautiful specimens of native work.

By the VICAR AND VESTRY OF ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR, Bristol—

Manuscript copy of the Vulgate.

Seal of St. Thomas' Church, Bristol. This Seal is oval in form, $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. It bears the figure of St. Thomas the Apostle, which is bearded, standing on a log, from which, on each side a branch arises, and holding in his hand a spear. On one side are the figures 15, and on the other 66, shewing the date of the seal. Within a beaded border is the following legend in Roman Capitals, beginning at the bottom :—

⁘ THOMAS · THE · APOSTEL · OF · IESV · CHRIST.

With the permission of the Rector and Churchwardens, this seal was exhibited at the Meeting of the British Archæological Association in Bristol in 1847, by Mr. JOHN REYNOLDS, of Redland Manor House, and an Engraving of it with a short description is printed in the Journal of the Association (vol. xxxiv.) With the courteous permission of the Association the engraving is here reproduced (fig. 7.) There was a tradition that the Church was originally dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr. Mr. REYNOLDS, upon a careful examination of the deeds belonging to the Church, found this tradition to be correct. He says we have numerous entries in the name of the Martyr, viz. : in the 15th, 18th, and 33rd Henry VI., and 19th Edward IV. In 31st Henry VI. "Martyr" is erased, and also in 16th Henry VI., the same word is cancelled, while in the 24th Elizabeth we find St. Thomas the *Martyr*, and in 20th Elizabeth St. Thomas the *Apostle*.

(Fig. 7)

These notes would seem to shew that there had long been some uncertainty as to the dedication, for we find that the word "*Martyr*" is cancelled in the deed of 16th Henry VI, and that it appears in 24th Elizabeth, though the word *Apostle* is used in the 20th of that reign. It is evident, therefore, that the dedication was not changed in obedience to the proclamation of King Henry VIII, by which the King commanded that "St. Thomas of Canterbury should not be esteemed nor called a Saint ; that all images and pictures of him should be destroyed ; the festival in his honour be abolished ; and his name and remembrance be erased out of all books, under pain of His Majesty's indignation

and imprisonment at His Grace's pleasure. It is probable that the Registers of the diocese Worcester would clear up the uncertainty.

Four Enamelled Candlesticks.—These Candlesticks were also exhibited on the occasion above-mentioned. They are identical in execution and workmanship, two being 12¼ in. high, and alike in pattern, and the two others 6¾ in. high and almost identical. All are formed of copper and were originally gilt, and are covered with elaborate patterns, filled in with champlevé enamel. The sockets are of much later date, and of latten, and have probably replaced the original spike fitments. The ornamentation is chiefly geometrical with conventional foliage, but the tripod bases have quaint figures alike on all three sides, those on the two larger candlesticks being a mermaid with tail and paws, defending herself with sword and shield against a griffin. The bases of the smaller ones have figures of two eagle-like birds with long tails and wings, confronting each other. The colours are, for the most part, deep blue, with a sparing introduction of white, yellow, green, light blue, and red dots in imitation, probably, of jewels. These candlesticks are supposed to be of the workmanship of the early part of the 13th century, and probably Limoges rather than German. (See Plate III.)

By the CHURCHWARDENS OF ST. WERBURGH'S, Bristol.

Swathed Stone Figure—found in the Church when being taken down.

By MRS. WHITWILL, Redland House, Bristol—

Tear Bottles—small vessels of glass or earthenware, which it was customary at Roman Funerals to fill with the tears (lacrymæ) of the mourners, and deposit them with the ashes of the deceased in the sepulchre.

Funeral Lamps.

By Messrs. J. S. FRY & SONS, Union Street, Bristol—

A Cabinet containing a number of Coins, fragments of Swords and Spurs, and other articles found in the River Frome in making excavations for the new warehouse.

By MR. W. GEORGE, Park Street, Bristol—

Wax Doll, 1785, in its original silk and satin dress.

By T. W. JACQUES, ESQ., Apsley Road, Clifton—

Key-hole Guard.

By SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., Bicknor Court, Coleford—

Old Dutch Tobacco Box.

Carved Ivory Book Cover—Figure of B.V. Mary.

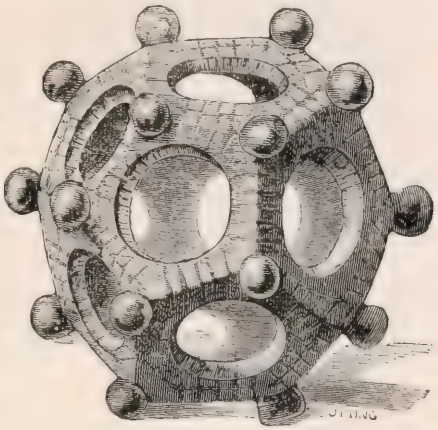
Part of Carved Ivory Rappoir.

Tradesman's Stamp—found in the Castle ditch, English Bicknor.

Roman Coins of Victorinus—found near Coleford

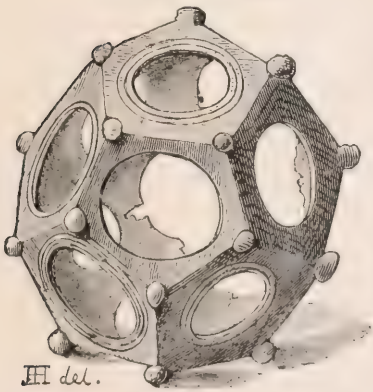
Pewter Alms Dish or Bason—found in the Castle ditch, English Bicknor.

A Bronze Dodecagon of the Roman period, in perfect condition (fig. 8), $1\frac{7}{8}$in. high, and $\frac{1}{8}$ of an in. thick. Each pentagonal faciet is pierced with a circular opening, $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch in diameter, all of the same size, with a $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch round knop at each angle. The workmanship is somewhat rude.



(Fig. 8.)

It was recently found on the Coppet hill, near Goodrich, where other Roman remains have from time to time been discovered. It was placed in the Temporary Museum of the "Royal Archæological Institute" at Hereford, at the Congress held there in August, 1877, and was, in November of the same year, exhibited at the rooms of the Institute in London, together with the fragment of another example from the collection of Mr. Franks of the British Museum, (fig. 9), (*Archæological Journal*, XXXV., *p.* 87.) This latter example is of somewhat finer workmanship, the thickness of the metal being only $\frac{1}{32}$ of an inch and the knops $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch. One entire faciet and three-halves are broken away and lost. The circular holes, which in this example are surrounded by concentric circles, vary in size from from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ of an in. in diameter, no two faciets being exactly alike.



(Fig. 9)

There is another example of larger size in the Collection of the "Society of Antiquaries." Each side measures in diameter $2\frac{1}{5}$ ins., and the diameter of the openings increase gradually from $\frac{6}{10}$ to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ins. It was found in May, 1768, at a depth of about 8 feet on the North side of St. Peter's Church, Caermarthen, together with several pieces of copper, curiously laid in flag-bricks, which crumbled to dust; and was communicated to the Society in May, 1780, by Levett Blackborne, Esq., F.S.A. (Minutes vol. xvii., p. 98.) A similar bronze dodecagon, found with Copper Coins at Aston in Hertfordshire, in a field called Hagdale, was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, by Mr. North, on 28th June, 1739 (Minutes, vol. III., p. 98), and another of smaller size, and without balls at the angles, found near Fishguard, was sent to the Society by Rev. Edward Harries of Llandysilio, on 12th March, 1864.

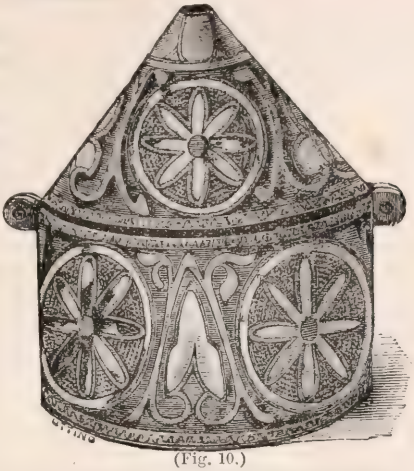
There is also an example in the Museum of the "Society of Antiquaries" at Zurich, a photograph of which was exhibited by Dr. Keller, the President of the Society, at the Rooms of the "Royal Archæological Institute," in Dec., 1861 (*Archæological Journal*, xix., p. 83). In this example each faciet is pierced with a circular opening, but no two of such perforations are of equal diameter.

In the autumn of 1878, Mr. J. Hilton, whilst on a tour in Holland, noticed two similar objects in the Museum at Leyden. They were placed, without labels, in different cases and among prehistoric remains, and the Museum attendant was unable to give any information respecting them (*Archæological Journal*, xxxv., p. 312).

For what purpose these very curious and widely dispersed objects were used is quite unknown. It has been suggested that they were merely ornaments for suspension, but if they had been intended for such a purpose, they would, in all probability, have been furnished with a loop for fastening them on, besides their shape would seem to be unsuitable for the purpose, and there would not have been any reason for having the perforations of different sizes, as in some of the examples. Others have supposed that they were used like dice in games of chance, the facicts bearing different marks, or numbers, but against the theory it may be remarked that in none of the examples is there any preparation for setting a piece of ivory or other material in the faciet openings, to bear the number or mark; but against this objection it may be urged that the hollows may have been filled with wax and then inscribed with letters or marks, in which case the angular knops would have served the purpose of protecting the wax. The Fishguard example is, however, without knops. Can any Archæologist throw light upon this curious problem?

By Rev. W. Bagnall Oakely, of Newland—

A Pyx of *Champlevé* Enamel, purchased about 8 years ago at an auction at Ross. It is $2\frac{6}{10}$ins. in diameter, and $1\frac{9}{10}$ in depth, and the conical cover is the same in height. It, probably, had a cross on the top of the cover. The ornamentation is very simple. Around the box are four radiating star-like ornaments in blue enamel, surrounded by a circle of white enamel, and alternately between the circles is a leaf-like ornament enamelled in green, passing at the edges into red. The cover is similarly adorned,



(Fig. 10.)

except that it has only three circular ornaments. The fastening is broken, otherwise, with the exception of the top already alluded to, the object is complete. It had been used as an inkstand and as such was sold. (Fig. 10.)

By Mrs. W. Bagnell Oakely—

Worcester Porcelain, &c.

Bristol Porcelain.

By T. Gambier Parry, Esq., Highnam Court, Gloucester—

Early 16th Century Salver.

Small Box.

Early 14th Century Round Box.

13th Century Casket, with gold and silver damascened work.

12th or 13th Century Candlestick.

Bucket—very richly damascened at the bottom.

12th Century Plaque of Limoges enamel.

By the Churchwardens of St. Stephen's, Bristol—

Ancient Reliquary.

Ancient Parish Seal of St. Stephen the Martyr, Bristol.—The Seal was engraved and described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1852, (p. 385.) Though that account is sufficient to show the interest of the object, both the drawing and the letter-press require some correction. The instrument is suspended by a chain from a loop, which was attached to the girdle of some officer of the church. It appears to be early 15th century work, and was originally gilt.

The design comprises a figure of the B. Virgin, which is beautifully executed. The seal represents the Martyr in Deacon's vestments, with alb and dalmatic, and apparently the stole encompassing the neck. The maniple is thrown over the right arm—not as usually figured over the left—and is embroidered and fringed at the end, where it is slightly wider than in the middle. The hair is bushy, and worn in three divisions (therein differing considerably from the engraving in the *Gentleman's Magazine*), from this and the peculiarity of the maniple, together with the general character of the device, the date is supposed to be from 1425 to 1450. St. Stephen is represented holding in his right hand stones as emblematical of the manner of his martyrdom: and his right hand holds a book. The Seal is specially interesting as representing the English treatment of the subject, in distinction from that of the Italian and others of the foreign schools, the Saint being figured with a palm leaf or in the act of offering martyred innocents to Christ.

By the MISSES WILLIAMS, Pembroke Vale, Clifton—

Old English Point Lace.

Linen Quilt.

Quilt.

Troubadour's Dress.

By THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF BRISTOL—

Books and Articles exhibited at the Bristol Meeting, the property of the Corporation of Bristol.

Vellum MS. Bible	"circa" A.D. 1225
Ditto Missal	,, ,, 1450
Ditto Opus Theologium	1220
Ditto MS. (written in Bristol)	1402
Conciones Quadragesimales	1360
Isidorus de Summa Bona, &c. for	1450
Opus Philologicum	1250
Opus Medicum (on paper)	1423

First edition Milton's Paradise Lost, 10 books

Tyndale's New Testament, Geneva, 1557. The First edition broken up into chapters and verses.

Drawings, Maps, &c. of Bristol in great variety.

"City High Cross, with Stocks, A.D. 1708."

"Bristol during the Commonwealth."

"Broad Street of Colston"—at the time of his death.

Printed Books of the 15th and 16th Centuries.

By J. F. NICHOLLS, F.S.A., *Chief Librarian, Free Libraries.*—

Medal of John Alasco--unique.
Almanack, shewing the change of style.
Old Drawings of Houses in Wine Street.
Ancient Roman and British Coins found in Bristol.
Maps of Bristol, 17th Century.

ANTIQUE INTAGLIOS, CAMEOS, &c.

Exhibited by Messrs. CHARLES TAYLOR & Co., College Green, Bristol.

CAMEOS.

	Description of Stone, &c.	*Subject.*
1.	Bloodstone—oval mounted.	Christ.
2.	Oriental Lapis lazuli—oval mounted.	Roman Emperor, DIVVS. AUGUST. CÆSAR IMP.
3.	Light Onyx—opaque in transparent strata, mounted in gold.	Anthony and Cleopatra.
4.	Light Onyx do.	Female bust.
5.	Oriental Onyx—white on dark, oval, mounted in gold.	Discobulus.
6.	Oriental Onyx—oval, 3 strata, white and brown in rim.	Bellona.
7.	Variegated Red Onyx—2 strata, long oblong, mounted in gold.	Pan, with pipes and pitcher.
8.	Dove Onyx—3 strata, oval, mounted in gold enamel.	Minerva.
9.	Jasper—3 strata, brown and green	Egyptian.
10.	Light Onyx—2 strata, oblong.	Juno and attendant cup bearer.
11.	Varied Onyx—oblong.	Mask.
12.	Smoky Sard—2 strata, oval obverse Cameo, reverse Intaglio, OIXAEP.	Pichler.
13.	Oriental Onyx—2 strata, white and black.	Jeunesse.
14.	Light Oriental Onyx—2 strata, mounted.	Anthony and Cleopatra.
15.	Black and White Oriental Onyx—oval, 3 strata.	Perseus rescuing Andromeda from a Sea Monster.
16.	Dark Oriental Onyx—2 strata, oval.	Jupiter serips.
17.	Red Sardonyx—2 strata, oval, ivory on red.	Female bust.
18.	Onyx--light, 2 strata, white on brown.	Head of Apollo.
19.	Onyx—pink, 2 strata, oblong.	Silenus or Bacchus.
20.	Onyx—red and white, 2 strata, oval.	Jupiter as a Bull and Europa.
21.	Onyx—light and brown, 2 strata, oval, mounted as cane top.	Lion killing Buffalo.
22.	Onyx—light, 2 strata, oval.	Bearded Head.
23.	Onyx—white on brown, 2 strata.	Seneca.

24.	Onyx—black and white, 4 strata.	Obverse Cameo, Ulysses, reverse Intaglio, Diomede.
25.	Onyx—black and white, 2 strata, oval.	Raffaelle.
26.	Oriental Onyx—4 strata, brown and white.	Indian or Persian.

INTAGLIOS.

27.	Amethyst—oblong.	Bellona.
28.	Golden Sard—oval.	Perseus slaying the Medusa.
29.	Golden Sard—oval.	Achilles parting from his Son.
30.	Blood Sard—oval.	Head of Jupiter.
31.	Sard—brown, fragments.	Slaying.

SCARABÆI BUSTS, &c.

32.	Bracelet—	
	Scarabæus, red porphyry, mounted as seal.	Otriades, &c.
	Red Cornelian.	Mercury.
	Dark Onyx.	Helmeted Figure.
	Light Onyx.	Figure with wings.
	Darker Onyx.	Figure—insect on shoulder.
33.	A seal, gold, green border.	

BUSTS.

34.	Bust—green jasper varied or jade.	On a stand.
35.	Bust—Amethyst.	
36.	Do. do. 2 faces.	Janus.
37.	Do. Onyx, light variegated.	With hat.
38.	Do. Onyx, reddish brown, variegated.	do.
39.	Black Jaspre.	Engraved Bacchanalian offering.

CAMEOS—MOUNTED AS RINGS.

	Description of Stone, &c.	*Subject.*
40.	Onyx—yellow, 3 strata.	Roman Emperor
41.	Sardonyx—brown, 2 strata.	Silenus.
42.	Onyx—light brown and white, 3 strata.	Roman Emperor
43.	Onyx—pink, 2 strata.	Bacchus.
44.	Sardonyx—brown and white, 3 strata.	Pallas.
45.	Onyx—brown and white, 3 strata.	Negro.
46.	Onyx—white, 2 strata.	Cleopatra.

INTAGLIOS MOUNTED AS RINGS.

47.	Sard—blood red.	Head of Philosopher or Roman Emperor.
48.	Sard—reddish yellow.	Satyr and Goat.

49.	Sard—silver.	St. Cecilia.
50.	Sard—golden.	Alcibiades.
51.	Sard—golden.	Faustina Julia.
52.	Sard—blood.	Head of Jupiter.
53.	Onyx—grey and black, 2 strata.	Bearded Head.
54.	Sapphire (or Blue Chalcedony).	Jupiter and Eagle.
55.	Onyx—dark brown on white ground.	Angel of Peace.
56.	Sard—red variegated.	Bellona.
57.	Sard—brown.	Figure and Skeleton.
58.	Cornelian—red.	Mercury Seated.
59.	Sardonyx—brown and white, 2 strata.	Anthony and Cleopatra.
60.	Sard—blood red.	Lion and Antelope.
61.	Sard—orange.	Figure in Car drawn by Antelopes.
62.	Sard—dark brown.	Dragon.
63.	Cornelian—red.	Anthony and Cleopatra.
64.	Sapphire.	Omphale.
65.	Onyx—white and brown, 2 strata.	Diomede.
66.	Cornelian—red.	Roman Emperor.
67.	Sard—golden.	Mercury.
68.	Cornelian—variegated.	Female head.

SILVER ARTICLES.

One Cup and Cover. A.D. 1663. Charles II.
One Tazza, Italian chasing.
Three Antique Chalices.
One Hanaper Cup, gilt.
One do. smaller do.
One Parcel Gilt Tankard.
One Silver Plaque (Bishop).
Twelve Antique Spoons.
Two Watches.
Eighteen Antique Spoons.
Cellini Chasing in frame.
Five Apostle Spoons.
Seven Antique do.
One Padlock Watch.
Two Bronze Bells.
One Set of 12 Antique Tea Spoons.
One do. 18 do.
One Watch, set with Emeralds.
One Shagren Watch.
One Metal Bell.
One do.

BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Dr. ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING 22ND APRIL, 1878. **Cr.**

To Balance on account of last year				58	1	1
,, Life Subscriptions then on deposit				399	0	0
,, 2 Life Subscriptions				10	10	0
,, 354 Annual Subscriptions				185	17	0
,, 27 Entrance Fees				14	3	6
,, 7 Annual Subscriptions, in arrear, 1876-7 ...				3	13	6
,, 8 Entrance Fees ,, ...				4	4	0
,, Sale of Transactions				3	8	6
,, Interest on Deposits				11	3	6
				£690	1	1

By Expenses of Meeting at Cirencester, Aug., 1877					13	7	1
,, Expenses of Meeting at Gloucester, Jan., 1878					10	9	7
,, Printing Transactions for the Year					114	1	9
,, Miscellaneous Printing, Postage, & Stationery					32	11	9
,, Advertising					3	7	6
,, Clerical Assistance					11	3	8
,, Donation to Bristol Museum and Library ...					10	10	0
,, Petty Disbursements					1	16	6
,, Arrear Accounts applicable to 1876-7—							
Miscellaneous Printing, &c.	22	7	0				
Petty Disbursements ...	4	6	9				
Advertisements	1	0	6				
Purchase of Documents ...	8	9	0				
Clerical Assistance ...	3	6	8				
					39	9	11
,, Amount of Life Subscriptions, Invested in Consols					409	10	0
,, Available Balance carried to next year's account					43	13	4
					£690	1	1

Audited and found Correct—JOHN MACLEAN.
ROBT. LANG.

ELMORE AND THE FAMILY OF GUISE,

By SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.,

Vice President of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

Our attention was first attracted to this subject by observing, when on a visit at Elmore, mounted and framed, and hung up in the drawing room, a duplicate of the original Charter by which John, son of the famous Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, granted to Anselme de Gyse, for his homage and service, all the manor of Elmore, to be held to the said Anselme, and the heirs of his body for ever, of the said John and his heirs, by the payment of *unum clavum gariophili*[1] at Easter. This Charter is undated, and

[1] This reserved rent is by no means uncommon in mediæval grants. It resembled a "pepper-corn," or "barley-corn," so usually reserved in modern days. Its exact significance has, however, never been very clear. It has generally been considered "one clove gilliflower," or a *floral* rent, of the character of a rose, so often found reserved in the early part of the 15th century. Considering, however, that the Manor of Dawnath, in Cornwall, was held in 1474, by Sir Walter Hungerford, of the Lord of the Manor of Carnanton, in the same County, by the service of ij li Gariophili (Hist. Trigg III. 137, n. 6) it seemed conclusive against its being a *floral* rent of any kind. The question then suggested itself, at what time was the spice now called *cloves* (the *caryophyllus aromatica)* introduced into England? Upon this subject we have had a somewhat lengthened correspondence with several gentlemen, more especially with the learned Dr. Aquilla Smith, of Dublin, and have come to the conclusion that *unum clavum garyophili* simply meant "one clove," and that ij li gariophili means 2lbs. weight of cloves, though in value apparently a high rent for a small Manor like Dawnath.

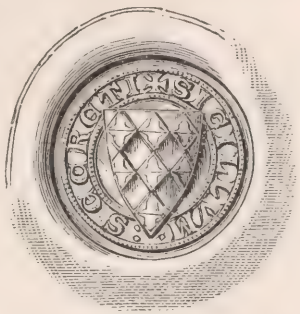
The spice would seem to have been unknown to the Greeks and Romans. It is not found in the Works of Dioscorides, Pliny, Theophrastus, Galen, Actius, Oribasius, nor in any preceding author. The first autho who mentions it is Paulus Egineta (A D. 634), as appears from the translation of his work by Francis Adams, as published by the Sydenham Society in 3 vols, 8vo, 1847 (vol. III., p. 160); but in the Pharmacographia, by Flukiger and the late Daniel Hanbury, a more complete history of the spice is given than in Adams' Commentary on Paulus Egineta from which it appears that cloves were known in China, B.C. 266, and in France in the 8th century. Cloves were among the wares on which duty was levied at Acon (Acre), in Palestine, at the end of the 12th century, at which period that city was a great Emporium of Mediterranean trade. They were likewise enumerated in the tariff of Marseilles, in 1228; in that of Barcelona, in 1252; and of Paris, in 1296. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that,

among the muniments, at Elmore is the original, with the seal, in white wax, attached. The seal is much broken at the edges, otherwise it is in fair condition. On the obverse it bears the figure of a mounted knight, brandishing his sword, his shield, and the mantlings of his horse being charged with the arms of de Burgh : *lozengy, gules and vair.* A portion of the legend is broken away *(See engraving* (fig. 11), *which is of the full size).* On the reverse side are

(Fig. 11)

being a common article of commerce, they were well known in England in 1274, the date of our Charter. Then as to their value : The Household Book of the Countess of Leicester (1265) gives its price as 10s. to 12s. per lb., being exactly the same as that of Saffron ("Manners and Household Expenses in England," Roxburgh Club, 1841, lii). The name Clove is said by some to be a corruption of the French word *clou*, a nail, from the resemblance of the dried clove to a nail, or *clavus*, and since the above note has been in type a curious confirmation of the interpretation there given of *unum clavum gariophili* has cropped up in the Will of John Turke, sen., of Romford, in Essex, dated 20th August, 1474, and just printed (12th April, 1879) in "Notes and Queries." Testator devises a certain field to his son, John Turke, "To have and to hold ye said felde of lond called ten acris to ye seyde John Turke, my sonne, to his eyris and assigneys for evir more be service of *a jelofyr nayle* to ye cheffe lord of ye fee dew and custom."

the arms of de Burgh, on a heater-shaped shield, surrounded by the words SIGILLUM SECRETI (fig. 12). Though this charter is without date, we can fix the time at which it was made, for on a search at the Public Record Office we were so fortunate as to discover the fine passed for the warranty of the Charter. It was levied on the morrow of the Ascension of our Lord, 1274, and for this fine Anselme de Gyse gave the said John de Burgh one soare sparrowhawk[1] (*unum sparvarium sorum*), sorum signifying a reddish colour, denoting the age of the bird, that is to say, a young hawk. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that the fine differs from the Charter in respect to the rent reserved, it being stated in the former to be a pair of gilt spurs (*calcarium de auratorum*), but that the fine in this particular was erroneous we shall see by subsequent documents.



(Fig. 12)

We do not find much information concerning the Manor earlier than this. It does not appear to be mentioned in Domesday under the name of Elmore, or any name we can identify with it; but in Testa de Nevil it is stated that in Elmore, in the Hundred of Duddestanna, co. Gloucester, are seven carucates of land.[2]

In the time of King John a parcel of land in Elmore was held by a family which derived its name from the place. In the year 1200, a fine was levied in which William le Dunse was petitioner, and Ala de Elmore, and Roger, her son, deforciants, of 13½ acres of land in Elmore, whereby the said Ala and Roger settled the said land upon the said Ala, for the term of her life, and, in exchange for one mark of rent out of one virgate of land in Hill, the said Roger granted the said land in Elmore, after the death of Ala, to the said William and his heirs, to hold of the said Roger and his heirs, by free service and the rent of 2 lbs. of pepper per

[1] Pedes Finium, Gloucester, 2nd Ed. I., No. 11.

[2] Testa de Nevil. p. 79.

annum.[1] This William was probably the same as, or the father of William le Dunye, who, in 1248, quit-claimed to Margaret, Countess of Kent, all his right and claim to 13 acres of land, with appurtenances, in Elmore, in co. Gloucester, for which the said Countess gave him 3 marks of silver.[2]

We must now return to the family of Guise, upon the origin of which we venture to make one or two remarks. We have before us a pedigree of the family, said to have been compiled by the late Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middlehill, in 1867, but it would appear to have been copied from a MS. Pedigree, at Elmore, drawn up by Sir George Naylor, Garter King of Arms, to which Sir Thomas Phillipps would seem to have made some additions. We cannot, however, regard this compilation as being, at best, more than tentative. The whole of the upper part, like that of many other ancient pedigrees, requires authentication. The family of Guise, according to this pedigree, is descended from Gilbert de St. Walery, by Papia, daughter of Richard II., Duke of Normandy, by his first marriage. This seems to be very doubtful. Moreover, it is stated that Ranulph St. Walery, the great grandson of Gilbert and Papia, is mentioned in Domesday, to whose son, Guy Walery, Simon de Beauchamp, Baron of Bedford, in 20th Henry I., granted the Manor of Aspeley, in Bedfordshire, which afterwards became called Aspley Guy's, and it is further said that from this the family of Guise derived its name. This statement seems to be contradicted by record evidence, as we shall presently see, and indeed the whole requires verification.

Anselme de Gyse, the grantee of the manor of Elmore, as mentioned above, is shewn in the pedigree as fourth in descent, or great grandson, of the aforesaid Guy. He died on 7th Feb. 1294-5, and it appears from the Inquisition taken thereupon for the county of Bedford, that he died seized of the manor of Aspeley, which he held in Capite of Hawisia, who was the wife of Robert

[1] Ped. Fin., Glouc. 2nd John, No. 30.

[2] Ibid. 32nd Henry III., No. 337.

de Greli,[1] by the service of one knight's fee. From the Inquisition taken on the same occasion for the county of Kent, it appears that the said Anselme held a manor called Ruchille, in that county, of Sir William de Grandisson,[2] in capite, by the service of 31s. 10d. per annum, and suit at the court of the Manor of Derteford, and the jurors say that John, son of the said Anselme, is his nearest heir, and is aged 18 years; but, they say, the same manor is divisible, and that all the sons of the said Anselme are heirs, but of the ages of the other sons they are ignorant. The Inquisition most interesting to us, however, is that taken for the county of Gloucester, inasmuch as the extent of the Manor of Elmore, with all its franchises, is shewn in great detail, together with the value of the same:—The jurors say that the said Anselme held in the ville of Elmore, one messuage, with garden and courtlage, and the value per annum is 6s. 8d.; they say, there is also one dovecot, and the value per annum is 2s. He held there in demesne xvj acres of arable land, and the value per acre per annum is iiijd, total 106s. 8d.; he held there 20 acres of meadow, value each acre per annum 2s., total 40s.[3]; they say there are also there 2 acres of wood and underwood, worth *nil.*; there are there several fisheries, value per annum, £4 13s. 4d.; there is there one windmill, and the value per annum is 6s. 8d. There are there free rents of assize to the value of 50s. 11½d.; paid at the feast of St. Michael, 38s. 11½d.; and at the feast of St. John Baptist, 12s.; and there is there a rent which is called water gavel, per annum, 40s., paid at the feast of Purification, B.V.M.; works and customs, value per

[1] John de Burgh died 8th Edw. I., leaving three daughters co-heirs, viz.: Dervalgolia, aged 25 years, the wife of Sir Robert Fitz Walter; Hawisia, aged 24 years, who married Sir Robert Greyley (Gresley); and Margery, a nun at Chikessaunt.—(Inq. p. m. 8, Edw. I.) Sir Robert was grandson? (*nepotis*) and heir of Thomas Greley, or Gredley (ob. 36th Henry III.) and he died 10th Edw. I., when his son Thomas was found to be his nearest heir. Hawisia died 27th Edw. I. Thomas, her son, was aged 20 years, on Vigil of St. Lawrence, 1299 (Inq. p.m., 27th Edw. I., No. 43). *(See appendix to this Paper.)*

[2] Sir William de Grandisson mar. Sibella, dau. and co-heir of John de Tregoz, who died 28th, Edw. I., at which time Sibella was aged 28 years and more. (Inq. p. m, 28th Ed. I., No. 43.) *(See appendix to this Paper.)*

[3] The reader will notice the difference in value of meadow and arable land. The former being worth six times more than the latter.

annum, 114s ; which is paid at the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary in autumn, 11s. ; at the feast of St. Michael, 17s. ; at the feast of St. Andrew, 20s. ; at the Nativity of our Lord, 29s.; and at Easter floridum (Palm Sunday), 20s. ; and at the feast of St. John Baptist, 17s. ; pleas and perquisites of Courts, value per annum, 20s. ; total value per annum, £24 0s. 3½d. And the jurors say that the said Anselme held all the aforesaid tenements of Lady Hawisia de Greyli, one of the heirs of John de Burgh, at the rent of *unum clavum gariophili* for all services.[1]

In 1313-4 a fine was levied between William de Lamborne quer., and John de Gyse, senr., def., of the Manor of Elmor, &c., whereby two parts of the said manor were settled upon the said John, and the third part, which Beatrix who was the wife of Anselme de Gyse held in dower, was to revert to the said John after the death of the said Beatrix, with remainder to John the son of the said John, and the heirs of his body, in default of such issue, remainder to the right heirs of the aforesaid John de Gyse, senior.[2]

We do not know the date of the death of John de Gyse, sen., but Beatrix was alive in 1327, for in that year John de Gyse was assessed to the subsidy at the rate of 7s. 3d., and Beatrix de Gyse at the rate of 6s. 8¾d. upon lands in Elmore.[3]

John de Gyse, jun., married a lady named Johanna. We have no evidence of the date of the death of this John, but he was dead before 1363. It appears from a writ issued in that year that Hubert de Burgh alienated the manor of Aspele Gyse to Anselme de Gyse without the king's license, and that the same Anselme alienated it, also without the king's license, to Nicholas, rector of Aspele, to hold to him and his heirs, because of which it was seized into the king's hands ; Johanna, who was the wife of John de Gyse, petitioned that the king's hands might be amoved, and an Inquisition was held at Amptille, on Thursday next before the

[1] Inq. p. m. 20th Edw. I. No. 52.
[2] Ped. Fin., Glouc., 7th Edw. II., No. 101.
[3] Subsidy Roll, 1st Edw. III.

feast of All Saints in the above-mentioned year, when the jurors found that the Manor of Aspele Gyse was held of John la Warre, kinsman and heir of John, son of Hubert de Burgh,[1] by military service and not of the King, and they say that Roger la Warre held the aforesaid Manor of the Barony of Bedford by similar service, and they say further that Johanna who was the wife of John de Gyse, was conjointly enfeoffed with John her late husband of the same manor by John Renoun.[2]

We have no further evidence until 1397, when, upon the death of Sir Richard Talbot, knight, it was found that he and Ankaretta, his wife, held half a knight's fee in Daglingworth, which was held of them by Anselme de Gyse. This, we conceive, was the younger Anselme, son of Anselme, son of the above-mentioned John. He died on Friday after Easter, 1407, and it appears from an Inquisition taken on Wednesday before the feast of St. Peter in Cathedra, that he died seized in his demesne as of fee of the Manor of Elmore and of the Manor of Daglingworth, both being held of the king in capite by military service, and the jury found that the Manor of Elmore was of the clear yearly value of £20, and the Manor of Daglingworth of £5, and they found that Reginald Gyse was the son and nearest heir of the said Anselme, and was aged 24 years and more, and they found further that Anne who was the wife of the said Anselme held the Manor of Elmore, and had received all the profits of the same from the death of the said Anselme.[3]

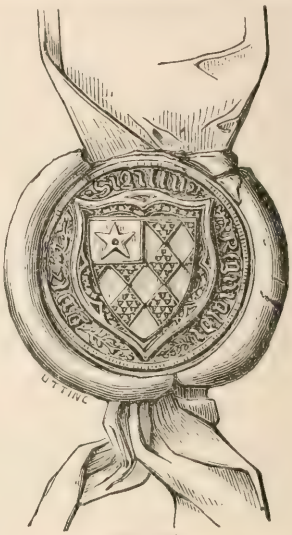
By an Indenture, dated 2nd Feb. 6th Henry V. (1418-19), between Reginald Gyse of Elmore, of the one part, and Anne his mother and others of the other part; the said Reginald conveyed to his

[1] Roger la Warre married Clarissa, eldest daughter and co-heir of John Tregoz, and had issue John la Warre, who, on the death of John Tregoz, in 1299, was found to be one of his co-heirs. He married Joan de Grelli, or Gresley, daughter of Sir Robert Gresley, and Hawisia, dau. and co-heir of John de Burgh, and heir of her brother Thomas de Gresleys by whom he had a son, John la Warre, named in the text.—*See appendix to this Paper.*

[2] Escheats, 37th Edw. III., No. 82, 1st Nos.

[3] Inq. p. m. 13th. Hen. IV., No. 4.

mother all his lands in Elmore and in Mynstreworth, juxta Elmore, as security for the payment of £57 6s. 8d., and the same Reginald, described as the Lord of Elmore, by his charter dated 28th Oct, 8th Henry V., (1420), granted to John Brugge of the county of Hereford, Guy Whittyngton, and Henry Clifford all his manor of Aspeley Gyse, together with the Advowson of the church, to hold to the said John and others and his heirs for ever.[1] This latter Instrument has attached to it a Seal of Reginald Gyse, having a heater-shaped shield, bearing the arms of de Burgh *Lozengy, Gules and vair*, but *differenced with a canton charged with a mullet, pierced.* It was not uncommon in an early period for knights and gentlemen to assume, as a mark of deference and respect, the arms of their superior lords, differencing them in the manner here shown. The Shield is circumscribed by the legend in old English characters **Sigillu Reginaldi Gyse.** (Fig. 13)



(Fig. 13)

This conveyance must have been for purposes of settlement.

Reginald Gyse left a son named John, who married Alice, daughter and co-heir of Sir William Wysham, Lord of Churchill, county of Worcester,[2] by whom he had a son of his own name. Alice died 29th July, and upon the Inquisition taken thereupon, at Holte, 31st Oct., 3rd Henry VII., it was found that the said Alice Gyse, Johanna Westcote, and Elizabeth Croft, were seized of the

[1] Elmore Muniments.

[2] John Gyse and Alice his wife, by their charter, dated on Saturday next after the feast of the Assumption of B.V.M., 10th Edward IV. (1470), granted manumission and freedom to Richard Ernelby, son of John Ernelby, a "native" of the manor of Elmore, to him and all the sequels which he might beget (Elmore Muniments). This charter has the Seal of John Gyse attached to it.—Inq p.m., V.C. Henry VII., No. 70.

Manors of Holte, Shettesley, Wadmanton, and Chilturn hauley, and being so seized in property of all the said lands; gave the said Manors of Shettesley, Wadmanton, and Chilturn hauley, to a certain Thomas Gyse and Johanna his wife and the heirs of their bodies, in virtue of which the said Thomas Gyse was seized in his demesne as of fee; and it was found that the said Alice afterwards died seized of the residue of the said Manors and lands, and that John Gyse was son and nearest heir of the said Elizabeth (*sic*, Alice?), and was aged 40 years and more.

John Gyse, son and heir of Anselme and Alice, was twice married. His first wife's name was Alianor, or Elinor. After her death, he married one Anne Berkeley, (called in the before mentioned pedigree Agnes, daughter of.....Berkeley of Stoke) which led to some considerable difficulties. After the marriage, it was discovered that Anne Berkeley and Alianor were related to each other in the second degree of consanguinity, and that, consequently, the said John and Anne stood to each other in the second degree of affinity, and hence the marriage was invalid. Accordingly a petition from each was addressed to the Pope (Sextus IV.), praying that, lest the scandal should become great between them on this account, and enmities and dissensions should follow between their relations and friends, and, perhaps, homicides, he would bestow upon them a dispensation, which the Pope, earnestly desiring to establish peace and the bonds of friendship between all the faithful, whatsoever, was pleased to grant, by which he authorized them to remain in the marriage state, and legitimatized the offspring of such marriage. This document is dated at St. Peter's in Rome, in the year 1484, on the 15th of the kalends of May.[1] (17th April.)

[1] This dispensation, with the bull of Pope Sextus attached, is among the Muniments at Elmore.

Sir John Gwyse was one of 20 gentlemen of the train of Prince Arthur, who, with the Prince, were created Knights of the Bath, on St. Andrew's Eve, 5th Henry VII.

The arms assigned to him are: Quarterly 1 & 4th, Gu. seven lozenges, vair 3, 3 and 1.—2nd and 3rd, Gu. a fess betw. six billets, or (Beauchamp?)

It appears from the Inquisition taken after the death of this John, wherein he is described as John Gyse, Knight, that he was seized of the Manor of Aspeley Gyse in his demesne as of fee, and being so seized by charter dated 23rd September, 1st Richard III. (1483), by the name of John Gyse, Esq., son and heir of John Gyse, late of Elmore, he enfeoffed certain trustees in the said Manor, to hold to them and their heirs and assigns to the use of the said John and Anne his wife and the heirs of their bodies, and for default of such issue remainder to the right heirs of the said John Gyse. And the jury found that the said John Gyse died on 30th September, 1501, that Anne, his wife, was still living, and that John Gyse, son and heir of the said John, begotten of the body of the said Anne, was aged 16 years and more. [1]

The city of Gloucester, during the wars of the Roses, had always shewn a spirit of attachment and devoted loyalty to the House of York, and King Richard III., who from it derived his early title, in visiting it on his progress after his coronation in 1483, conferred upon it many franchises and immunities, giving it a Mayor and two Sheriffs, and making it a county of itself, under the description of the County of the City of Gloucester. Within the limits of this new jurisdiction, was included the Hundred of Dudsden, in which the Manor of Elmore is situate, and consequently on the death of Sir John Gyse, John Cook, Mayor and Escheator, held an Inquisition on 3rd November, 1501. The jury found that the said John and a certain Richard Berkeley, Esq., long before the death of the said John Gyse, were seized of the Manor of Elmore, and by their charter, dated 19th June, 16th Henry, vij. (1501), granted the said Manor to Maurice Berkeley and others, to hold to the said Maurice and others to the use of the said Sir John Gyse, Knight, and Anne his wife, and to the heirs of the said John. And the jury found that the said Manor was held of Edward Duke of Bucks, as of his Honour of Hereford, by the service of half a Knight's fee, and the rent of one Clove, (*unum*

[1] Inq. p m , 17th Henry, vij. No. 18.

clavum gariophli,) per annum, and that the Manor, in all its issues, was worth £46 per annum.[1]

A similar Inquisition was taken for the county of Worcester, when it was found that the said Sir John Gyse died seized in his own demesne as of fee of the Manors of Holte, Shettesley, Beauchymp, Churchyll, Wodmanton, and Chilturne hauley, and of the moiety of the advowsons of the churches of Holte, Shettesley, Beauchymp, and Churchhill.[2]

John Gyse, son of Sir John Gyse above mentioned, married Tacy, daughter of Lord Grey de Wilton, and had a son named Anselme, who married Alice, daughter of James Clifford of Frampton, which parties, under the description of John Gyes of Elmore, Esquire, and Tase his wife, and Anselme Gyes, son and heir apparent of the said John Gyes, and Alice, wife of the said Anselme, by Indenture, dated 13th December, 31st Henry viii. (1539), granted to the King and his successors for ever the Manor and Lordship of Asple Gyes in county of Bedford, and the Manor of Wyggington in county Oxford, with appurtenances, together with all advowsons, chantries, &c., except the grant of the next advowson of (presentation to ?) the church of Wyggington, which had been granted by the said John Gyes to the Right Hon. Thomas Cromwell, Knight, Lord Cromwell of Wimbledon, and other trifling reservations of a temporary character, in consideration of which the King granted to the said John Gyes and his heirs the Manor and Lordship of Brockworth, with appurtenances in the county of the Town of Gloucester, to the late Priory of Lanthony, lately dissolved, sometime belonging; also the advowson of the church of Shallingford in county Berks, to the late Monastery of Abington, sometime belonging; also the advowson of the church of Little Laver in county of Essex, to hold the said advowsons of the King in fealty and service. The whole of the Manors to be held in capite by the 10th part of one Knight's fee, at the rent of £51 16s. 3d. per annum (being the estimated

[1] Inq. p.m. 17th Henry, vij. No. 19.
[2] Inq. p.m., 16th Henry, vij. No. 100.

difference in the annual value of the estates thus exchanged) ; also reciting that the said John Gyes, had, by an Indenture dated 24th February, 10th Henry, viii. (1518-9), covenanted to convey to the said Anselme and Alice his wife, and to the heirs of their bodies, divers Estates in the Manor of Wyggington, which articles could not then take effect, so the King granted that the said John Gyes, within four years, might make the estates in the lands therein granted, and that he should have license to do so.[1]

With respect to the Indenture here cited, there is at Elmore another Indenture of even date between the said John Gyse, described as of Woodchester, co. Gloucester, and the said James Clifford, described as of Frampton-upon-Severne. It is very curious and interesting, as illustrative of the manners and habits of that age, and as shewing that the inclinations of the young people chiefly concerned were little consulted in one of the chief evetns of their lives. The parties agree that Anselme, the son and heir apparent of John Gyse, should marry Alice, the daughter of James Clifford, or if the said Alice should chance to die before such marriage he should marry another daughter of the said James Clifford who should be within ten years of the age of the said Anselme ; and if the said Anselme should chance to die Alice should marry another son of the said John Gyse, who should then be his heir apparent, and if both should die the heir apparent of John Gyse should marry some other daughter of James Clifford who should be within ten years of the age of the said heir ; but, perhaps, the most singular arrangement was that the costs, charges, and expenses of the school-learning, meat, drink, and apparel of the said Anselme, or other heir of John Gyse who should marry a daughter of James Clifford, until he attained the age of 17 years, should be borne equally between the parties. And John Gyse covenanted to make an estate of 20 marks a year out of his manors and lands for the support of his son and his son's wife, and James Clifford contracted to pay to the said John Gyse a marriage portion of 200 marks with his daughter. How the canonical difficulty as to pre-contract in the case of the death of either was to be overcome does not appear.

[1] Elmore Muniments.

This is not the Indenture previously recited, because no mention is made therein of the Manor of Wiggington, or any other specific manor, upon which the provision made for Anselme and his wife should be charged. The Indenture is signed by both the parties, but it is sealed by James Clifford only, whose seal is: *Checquy, upon a bend three lines passant,* but the bearing is reversed.

John Gyes hereupon took up his residence at Brockworth, where he died on 20th Dec., 1556, as appears from the Inquisition taken after his death, which instrument also shews that he died seized of the Manors of Brookesworth and Elmore; and the jury found that the Manor of Brookeworth was held of the King and Queen (Philip and Mary) by military service: viz., the 20th part of one knight's fee, and that the value in all its issues was £42 per annum; that the Manor of Elmore was held of Henry, Lord Stafford, as of the Honour of Hereford, by the service of half a knight's fee and the rent of one clove per annum, and that the value in all its issues was £46 per annum; and further that Ancellus Gyes was son and nearest heir of the said John, and was aged 46 years and more.[1]

Anselme Gyes died at Elmore on 9th May, 1563, s.p., seized of the Manors of Elmore and Brockworth, in the county of the City of Gloucester, and upon the Inquisition taken thereupon William Guyes, his brother, was found to be his nearest heir, and to be aged 49 years and more, which William Guyes died at Elmore, 7th September, 1574. The Inquisition taken after his death recites various transactions relative to the family. The jury found that John Guyes, father of the said William, was in his lifetime seized of the Manors and Lordships of Elmore and Brockworth, and by Indentures dated 26th March, 1st Philip and Mary, and 28th March, the same year, conveyed the same to trustees, to the use of the said John Guyes and Tacia his then wife, for the term of their lives, and after their deaths to the use of Anselme Guyes, Esq., son and heir apparent of the said John, for the term of his life; remainder to the heirs of his body in tail male, in default of

[1] Inq. p. m. 3rd and 4th, Philip and Mary, No. 73, part 2.

such issue remainder to William Guyse, second son of the aforesaid John, and the heirs of his body, in default remainder to John Guyes, gent., third son of the aforesaid John, and the heirs male of his body, in default of such issue, remainder to the right heirs of the aforesaid John Gyes, senior; in virtue of which settlement the said John Gyes, senior, was seized of the said Manors, and in the same state died seized, and the said Tacie survived, and held the Manor of Elmore in her sole seizin, with remainder to the said Anselme, and after the deaths of the said John and Tacie, the said Anselme into the said manors entered and was seized, with remainder as above, and being so seized in the same state died seized without issue male, after whose death the said manors devolved upon the said William and the heirs of his body, who was seized in fee tail, and so died seized, and the jury found that John Guyes was son and nearest heir of the said William, and was aged 34 years and more.[1]

John Guies, last mentioned, died on 24th January, 1587-8, seized of the Manors of Elmore and Brockworth, under the settlements above recited, and upon his Inquisition post mortem, the jury found that William Guyes, gent., was the son and nearest heir of the body of the said John, and was aged 21 years and 4 days on the day of his father's death, and at the time of taking the Inquisition was living at Elmore. John Guise, the father, made his will on 1st December, 20th Elizabeth (1577), and directed that his body should be buried in the chancel of the Church of Elmore, near his wife. He gave towards the repairs of the sea-walls of the parish 13s. 4d. Mentions his three daughters Elinor, Anne, and Elizabeth; his sisters, Elizabeth and Cecilia; and his sister, Bridget Monslow. Gives small legacies to his uncle John Guise's children. Gives to his second son, John Guise, the lease of a farm in the Forest of Dean, and annuities for life of £10 each to four younger sons, William, the younger, Auncell, Charles, and Thomas; provided his executor, William Guise, should assign the reversion of three tenements in Elmore and Brockworth: viz., to William, the younger, Barrowes Farm, for life, at the old rent reserved; to Auncell, the reversion of Auncell Bullock's house

[1] Inq. p. m., 17th Elizab., No. 50.

and land; and to Charles the reversion of Roger Long's house and lands in Brockworth; the annuities to them to cease. Residue to William, his eldest son, whom he makes sole executor, and appoints Thomas Deane, Esq., James Berrowe, gent., and Charles Jones, gent., overseers.[1]

William Guise, son and heir of the last mentioned John Guise attained equestrian rank, having been knighted at Ricott, in the fields, 27th August, 1619.

On 1st June, 1622. The Justices of Gloucestershire made a representation to the Council that the distress of the weavers and other poor depending upon the trade of clothing was such that the county was oppressed, and that no vigilance could long prevent disturbances, the clothiers' trade growing worse and worse; and they enclose a statement by Sir William Guise, that Richard Webb, weaver, of King's Stanley, privately warned him that 500 very poor men intended to come to him with staves to make known their wants, and that they had talked of stopping the troughs going down the river with malt from Gloucester. Richard Webb, being examined, confirmed the truth of the statement, but refused to name the parties concerned, fearing to bring himself and others into danger.[2]

On 20th February, 1626, Sir William Guise wrote to Edward Nicolas,[3] from Elmore, saying that if, as suggested, the Duke of

[1] Probate 12th November, 1588, (Leicester, 6.)

[2] State Papers, Dom. Corr., James I., vol. cxxxi., No. 4.—On 13th March, previously, the Justices of Assize reported to the Council that having called before them the clothiers of Gloucestershire, and ordered them to prevent mutinies by employing the work people a month longer, stated that they would only consent to a fortnight, for that they could not continue their trade without the sale of their cloths, and the Justices enclose statements of the clothiers to the Council, that they are so reduced by decay of trade as to be quite unable to employ their work people; that there are 1500 looms in the county, each employing sixteen work people, who receive little more than 1s. a week each, which is much too little; that the Merchants Adventurers cause the decay of clothing by confining the export of cloth to themselves, raising its price by heavy impositions, buying it only twice a year in limited quantities, &c. (Ibid. vol. cxxviii, No. 49).

[3] Secretary to the Duke of Buckingham.

Buckingham would appoint the writer his Vice-Admiral for Gloucestershire, he would be ready to do him service.[1] He was accordingly appointed, and on 16th November following we find him sending up the names of all mariners within his Vice-Admiralty in the City and County of Gloucester, and also of all ship owners and their ships within the same Vice-Admiralty.[2]

On 14th May, 1640, Sir William Guise, thanks Nicholas for having kept his son from the Shrievalty that year.[3]

Sir William Guise was twice married. By his first wife, Margaret daughter of Christopher Kenn, of Kenn, co. Somerset, he had an only son, William, who died before him; and by his second wife, Elizabeth daughter of Humphrey Waldron, of Wood, co. Devon, he left a large family, for which we refer to the pedigree. He died in 1642, and was buried at Elmore on the 19th September in that year.

Of the younger brothers of Sir William Guise it may be remarked that John made his will on 31st March, 1614, in which he describes himself as "of Elmore," mentions his brother, William Guise, the younger, his sister Havye, (Haviland?) his brother Charles Guise, and his sister Perrye, to whom he gives a legacy of 20s., and states that the reason why he gives her no more is not that he loves her less, but because God hath blessed her husband with so good an estate that she needs it less; and he appoints his brother, William Guise, the elder, his executor and residuary legatee.[4]

William Guise, the younger, settled in Gloucester, of which city he was Town Clerk. We find some notices of him in the State Papers. On 26th Feb., 1626, he wrote to Nicolas on the subject of five packs of wool which had been appraised at £72 14s. 10d., and suggests an immediate sale. This wool belonged to one Samuel Hopton, a friend of Nicolas, and of whose Will Nicolas was one of the executors. William mentions that his

[1] State Papers, Dom. Charles I., vol. xxi., 38.
[2] Ibid. Vol. xxxix., No. 70.
[3] Ibid., Vol ccccxlviij, No. 4.
[4] Probate, 24th Oct., 1614. (Lawe 98.)

brother takes the suggestion of the Vice-Admiralty very kindly.[1] On 14th Dec. he wrote again to Nicolas, stating that his brother, having, under the Duke's warrant, endeavoured to collect the tenths of Mr. Ellis's prize, which miscarried, had been unable to do so because Mr. Ellis, being Sheriff of Bristol, and Deputy for Sir John Drake, had demanded the goods in Sir John Drake's name.[2]

On 19th March, 1639-40, Henry, Earl of Holland, Chief Justice, and Justice in Eyre of the Royal Forests on this side Trent, appointed James Kirle and William Guise his Deputies for the Forest of Dean.[3] This William Guise made his will at Gloucester, on 22nd July, 1640, in which he names his brother, Sir William Guise, knight, his daughters, Anne and Elizabeth, and his wife Elizabeth, whom he makes executrix and residuary legatee.[4]

William Guise, only son of Sir William by his first marriage, married Cecily, daughter of John Dennis, of Pucklechurch, by whom he had four sons and three daughters. It will be sufficient here to refer more particularly to the eldest son and the youngest. Christopher, the eldest son, was born in 1617, and consequently was 23 years of age on his grandfather's death, but we do not trace that he took any active part in the political troubles then just arising. He was the purchaser of the Manor of Rendcombe from the Berkeley family.[5] On 10th July, 1661, he was created a Baronet, under the title of Sir Christopher Guise, of Elmore.[6] By Indentures dated 13th August, 1664, in which he is described as Sir Christopher Guise, of Brockworth, he acquired of William, Bishop of Gloucester, for the term of his own life, and the lives of John Guise, of Ablodes, and John Guise, son of the said Christopher, a renewal of a lease of the site of the Manor of Drayscourt, which had been granted by Giles, Bishop of Gloucester, to William Guise of Brockworth, for the term of his life and the lives of the aforesaid Christopher, and John Guise and William, sons of the aforesaid William.[1] On the death of Sir William

[1] State Papers, Dom. Charles I., Vol. xxi., No. 66.
[2] State Papers, Charles I., Vol. xlij, No. 5.
[3] Ibid, vol. ccccxlviij.
[4] Probate 31st May, 1641, (Evelyn 60.)
[5] Atkyns, p. 325. [6] Patent at Elmore.

Guise, the fifth Baronet of this creation, unmarried, on 6th April, 1783, the title became extinct, but it was revived on the 10th Dec. in the same year, in the person of Sir John Guise, as shown below.[1]

Henry Guise, the 4th son of William Guise and younger brother of the first baronet, settled at Winterbourne, co. Gloucester. He married Phillippa, daughter of Sir Thomas Brydges, of Keynsham, co. Somerset, and had a son William, who succeeded him at Winterbourne on his death in 1675, and other issue. William Guise married Dorothy, daughter and heir of John Snell, of Uffington Hall, co. Warwick, whose 3rd son Henry, the two elder having died unmarried, married Mary, daughter of Edward Cooke, and co-heir of her brother Dennis Cooke, of Highnam, by which marriage he acquired that estate. Henry Guise, who is described as of the city of Gloucester, died in 1749, intestate, and administration of his effects was granted to his relict on 2nd March, 1749. She did not, however, long survive her husband, for on 12th January, 1751, administration of her estate and her husband's, was granted to Mary Cooke, spinster, the guardian assigned to John Guise, a minor, the only child of the deceased Henry Guise, and Mary, his wife. John Guise was born in 1733, and in him, on 10th December, 1783, was the Baronetcy revived. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Thomas Wright, of Lawrence Lane, London, brother and heir of Sir Martin Wright, appointed one of the Justices of the King's Bench, 16th February, 1742, and seated himself at Highnam, which he inherited from his mother. Dying in 1794, he was succeeded by his son, Sir Berkeley William, who died unmarried in 1834, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir John Wright, who, having served many years in the army, attained the rank of General, and was made a Knight Grand Cross of the most Hon. Order of the Bath. At the time of his death he was the senior General Officer in the service. Of him we shall not at present say anything further, and of his son and successor, Sir William Vernon Guise, our esteemed President of the Council, the 4th Baronet of the new creation, who is so well known to us, it is not necessary to speak.

[1] Muniments at Elmore.

Arms.—We have already shewn (ante p. 56) the origin of the arms used by this family, which anciently were : *lozengy, gules and vair, on a canton, ar., a mullet pierced, sa.* ; but as early as 1484 they became changed to : *gu., seven lozenges vair, upon a canton, or, a mullet pierced, sa.*, which arms have since been borne.

There is upon record in the College of Arms, as *allowed* to the family the following quarterings :—

1 Gules, seven lozenges vair, 3, 3 and one, upon a canton, or, a mullet pierced, sa. Guise
2 Sa, a fess between six martlets, ar. Wysham
3 Gu., a fess between six billets, or. Beauchamp
4 Per pale, or and gu., three roundels counterchanged. Abtot
5 Ar., two bars gules. Mauduit
6 Lozengy, az. and or, within a bordure, gu. charged with eight plates. Bellomont
7 Checquy, or and az, a chev. ermine. Newburgh
8 Gu., two bendlets, or. Fitzwith
9 Erm., three crescents, gu. Kenne
10 Quarterly gu. and az., a cross moline, or. Snell
11 Or, a chev. checquy, gu. and az., between three cinquefoils of the third. Cooke
12 Or, four lozenges in fess, az. Pennington
13 Ar., two bars gu., upon a canton of the second a cinquefoil, or.
14 Sa., a fess between three pheons, ar.
15 Or, a double headed eagle displayed sa., charged on the breast with a fleur de lis, ar.
16 Az., three eagles displayed in bend between two cotises, ar. Belknap
17 Gu., a fess checquy, ar. and sa., between six crosses pattee fitchee of the second. Boteler
18 Or, two bendlets, gu. Sudley
19 Or, four bendlets, az. Montfort
20 Gu., a chev. ermines, between three pheons or, upon a canton, crucilly, three luces palewise, two and one, ar. Arnold and Lucy.
21 Sa., a chevron, or, between three hawkes lures, ar. Madoc ap Rhyn
22 Sa., billetty, and a cross fleury, ar. Norreys
23 Or, on a fess dancette, between three billets, az, each charged with a lion rampant of the field, as many bezants. Rolle
24 Ermine, three battle axes, gu. Dennis
25 Ar., a cross fleury sa., upon a chief az. three estoiles, or. Dabernon
26 Sa., three lozenges in fess, Ermine. Giffard.
27 Gu., two bendlets, wavy, or. Brewer
28 Sa., bezanty, two stags trippant, ar. Bockerell
29 Ar., upon a chev. between three eagles' heads erased, sa, as many acorns, or. Chiderly
30 Az., crucilly and a unicorn salient, or. Donne
31 Ar., three dolphins, sa., two and one. Rinsey
32 Gu., a double-headed eagle, displayed, between three fleurs de lis, ar. Godolphin
33 Ar., a chev. between three tassels, gu.

34 Or, upon a fess sa., three chevrons, palewise, points to the dexter, ar. TRENOUTH
35 Ar., a double-headed eagle displayed, within a bordure, sa., charged with 8 bezants. KILLEGREW
36 Sa., a chev. between three eagles displayed, or. KENTEBURY
37 Ar., three mascles, sa., two and one. ARWENICK
38 Ar., upon a chev. gu., between three torteaux, as many bezants. BOLEIGH
39 Ar., three bars gemel gu., upon a chief az., three tigers heads, or. WRIGHT.
40 Ar., a chev. between three griffins, passant, sa. FINCH
41 Sa., three leopards' heads reversed, ar., jessant de lis, gu. WOODFORD
42 Ar., a unicorn's head, erased, gu., upon a chief wavy az., three lozenges, or. SMITH

I certify the above 42 quarterings to be duly proved and recorded as rightly belonging to SIR WILLIAM VERNON GUISE, BARONET.

STEPHEN TUCKER,
Rouge Croix.

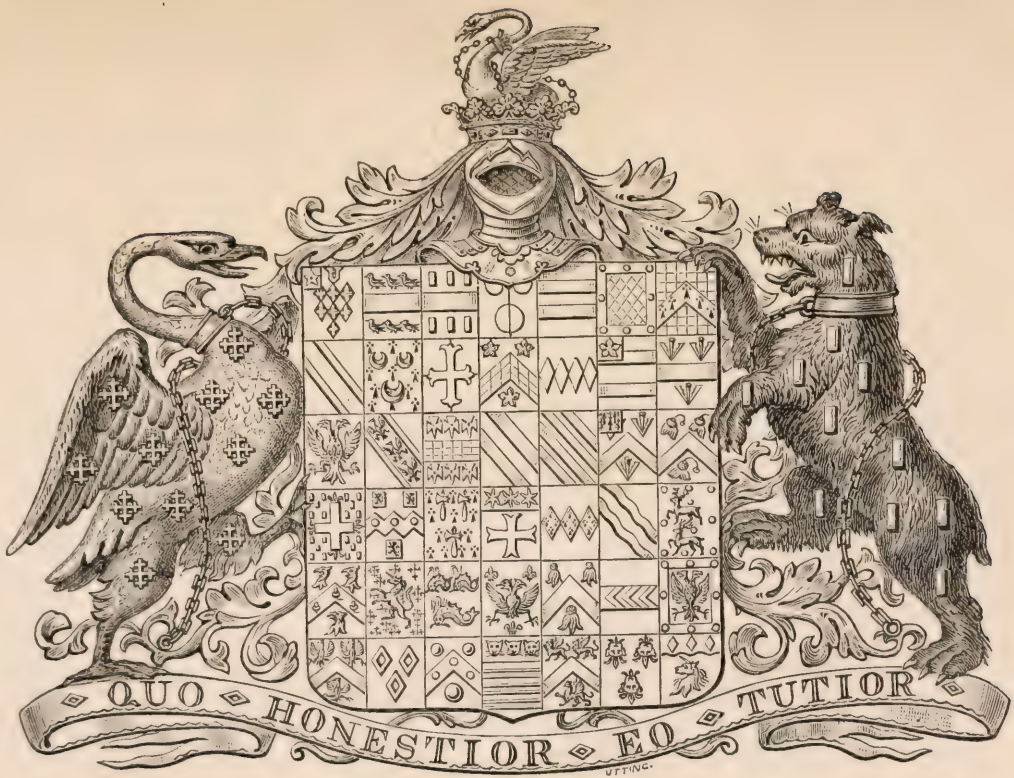
Heralds' College, 10 April, 1879.

CREST.—The Crest long used by this family having been found in 1797 not to be upon record in the College of Arms, Sir Berkeley William Guise, Bart., obtained from the then Earl Marshal a warrant for the grant and confirmation thereof, with special permission to bear the same issuant from a ducal coronet. This warrant, however, never having been carried into effect, Lieut.-General Sir John Wright Guise, Bart., K.C.B., obtained another warrant, dated 12th June, 1843, under which the following crest was granted and confirmed, by patent dated 21st June following, to the said Sir John Wright Guise, Bart., to be borne by him and his descendants, and by the other descendonts of his late father, Sir John Guise, Bart., according to the laws of arms for ever: viz., *Out of a Ducal Coronet, or, a swan, wings elevated, argent, ducally gorged and chained, or.*

SUPPORTERS.—Sir John Wright Guise having been created a Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, became entitled to use supporters. These, usually, are only granted personally, but the Queen, by a special Warrant, under her sign manual, dated 12th January, 1863, made an exception in his case, and accordingly, under her Majesty's said special warrant, the following supporters were granted: viz., on the dexter side: *a swan proper, crusilly gules, plain collared and chained, or:* and on the sinister side: *a bear, sable, billetty or, collared and chained as the dexter,* to be borne and used for ever hereafter by him, the said Sir John Wright Guise, Bart., and the heirs male of his body upon whom the dignity of a Baronet shall descend.

MOTTO: —QUO HONESTIOR EO TUTIOR. *(See PLATE IV.)*

PLATE IV.



Arms of Sir William Vernon Guise, Bart., F.G.S., F.L.S., &c.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF GUISE OF ELMORE, CO. GLOUCESTER.

Anselme de Gyse, had grants of the manors of Aspley, in co. Beds., and of Elmore, in co. Glouc., of John, son and heir of Hubert de Burgh, 2 Edw. I., Died 7 Feb., 23 Edw. I. (1294-5) Inq. p.m. 23 Edw. I., No. 52. = Beatrix, da. of .... living 1313, Ped. Fin., 7 Edw. II., Glouc.

John de Gyse, of Aspley and Elmore, born 11 June, 1277, aged 17 years on his father's death. = Johanna, da. of .....

Sir John de Gyse, of Aspley and Elmore, *John de Gyse, son and heir of John de Gyse, did confirm by charter, 7 Edw. II.* (1313). *Sir John de Gyse did release to Henry Heuers, 2 Edw. III.*, 1328.

Anselme de Gyse, of Aspley and Elmore

Margery mar. Richard Bluet.

Anselme de Gyse, of Aspley, Elmore and Dalyngworth, died Friday next after the feast of Easter (1 April), 1407. Inq. p.m. 13 Henry IV., No. 4. = Anne, da. of..... living 5 Henry V.

Reginald de Gyse, Lord of Elmore, 8 *Hen. V.*, of Aspley, co. Beds., and Dalyngworth, co. Glouc., aged 24 years and more in July, 1412.

John de Gyse, of Asply Gyse, co. Beds., and Dalyngworth and Elmore, co. Glouc., living 10 Edw. IV. (1470). Monument in Elmore church. = *Alice, da. and heir of Sir William Wysham*, Lord of Churchill, co. Worc., living 1470.

Alianora da. of = *Sir John Gyse, Knt. of Aspley Gyse*, Daglyngworth and Elmore, died 30 Sept., 1501. Inq. p.m. 17th Hen. vij., Nos. 18 and 19. = *Agnes, da. of* (Richard?) Berkeley, Papal dispensation af. mar., dated at Rome, 15 Kal. May (17 Apr.), 1484.

Thomas Gyse, *2nd son.*

James Gyse, *3rd son*, died at Edlington.

A

John Gyse de Elmore, aged 16 years in 1501, died 20 Dec., 1556, seized of the manors of Brockworth, and Elmore, bur.[1] Inq. p.m., 4 and 5, Philip and Mary, 2nd Part, No. 72. = *Tacy, da. of Lord Grey de Wilton*, bur.[1] 15 Nov., 1558.

George Gyse, 2nd son, ob. s.p.

Anselme, eldest son, aged 46 ys. on his father's death. bur.[1] 9 May, 1563, s.p. Inq. p.m. 5 Eliz. No. 22. = Alice, da. of James Clifford, of Frampton mar. settl. 24 Feb., 1518-9.

Thomas, bur. 3 May, 1562. v.p.

William Guise, 2 sed heres, of Elmore and Brockworth, brother and heir of Anselme, aged 49 years on his brother's death, 9 May, 1563. Inq. p.m. 5 Eliz., No. 22. Died 7 Sep., 1574. Inq. p.m., 17 Eliz., No. 50. Bur.[1] 9 Sep., 1574. Will dated 10 Mar. 1568-9, at Glouc. = *Mary, da. of* John *Rotsy, of Colmore*, King's Norton, co. Worcester, by Margaret, da. of John Walsh, of Sheldesley Walsh, co. Worc. bur.[1] 24 Nov., 1558.

John Gyse, of Elmore and Brockworth, aged 34 years on his father's death, died 24, and bur.[1] 26 Jan., 1587-8. Will dated 1 Dec., 1577. Prob. 12 Nov., 1588 (6 Leicester). Inq. p.m. 30 Eliz, Part 1, No. 131. = *Jane, da, of Richard Paunceforte, of Hasfield*, mar.[1] 22 Jan. 1564. Bur.[1] 27 June, 1587.

Margaret, da. of Christopher Kenn, of Kenn, co. Somerset, mar. at Kenn 2 Jan., 1592. Bur.[1] 20 April, 1595, *1st wife.* = *Sir Wm. Gyse, of Elmore* and Brockworth, aged 21 ys. and 14 days on his father's death. Bap.[1] 22 Jan., 1566. Bur. 19 Sept., 1642. Will dated 28 March, and Cod. 26 April, 1642. Prob. 1 June 1643.

Elizabeth, da. of Humphrey de Waldron, of Wood, co. Devon. Will dated 12 July, 1653. Prob. 2 Sep., 1657 (355 Ruthin) *2nd wife.* = John Gyse, of the city of Gloucester, 2nd son. Will dat. 31 Mar., 1614. Prob. 24 Oct., following, (Lawe 98.) = ... da. of .... Large

Elinor, bap.[1] 12 Aug., 1570, mar. at Kenn, co. Som., 7 Feb., 1592. Chris. Perry, bur. there, 29 April, 1619. His will dated 21 Apr., 1619. Prob. 16 June, following (68 Parker).

William Gyse, of Elmore and *Brockworth*, born 10 and bap.[1] 20 Apr. 1595. Sheriff of Gloucestershire, 1647 Bur.[1] 28 Aug. 1653. Will dated 10 Nov. 1650. Prob. 14 Sep., 1653. = *Cecily, da. of John Dennis, of Pucklechurch, co. Glouc., Esq.*, bap. 23 Jan., 1597, mar. 20 Feb., 1616, bur.[1] 21 June 1682. Settl. after mar. 24 April, 15 Ja.

John Guyes, 2nd son, born 16, bap.[1] 25 Feb., 1599. = *Abigail, da. of Richard Yate*, of Arlingham mar. there 14 July, 1633.

George, 3rd son, bap.[1] 21 Dec., 1603.

Anthony, bap.[1] 27 April, 1606.

John

William, bap.[1] 30 Sep., 1652.

John = Anne, da. of ..... Rich, of Dowdeswell, co. Glouc.

Richard, 3rd son.

B

Annabella. Anne. Susan. Bridgett.

1 At Elmore. 1 At Brockworth.

William Gyse, 3rd son. *Thomas Gyse, 4th son.*

John Gyse, of Elmore, *3rd son.* Will dated 20May,1570. Prob. 1571. bur.[1] 23 June, 1570. — Alice, da. of

Sylvestra, mar. Sir John Boteler, of Badminton, Kt.

Cicely ? mar..... Byrte.

Margaret, mar. Anthony Billet, Esq., of .....

Anselme, named in uncle Williams' will, ob. v.p.

John Gyse

Jane.

Joan.

Anne

Named in father's will.

Elizabeth, named in Bro. John's will.

Bridget mar. Monslow, named in Bro. John's will.

Cicely, named in Bro. John's will.

Anselme bap[1] 12 March, 1580.

Charles Gyse, of St. Dunstan's, in the West London. Bap. 13 Oct. 1583. Will dated 20 Oct., 1614. Prob. 7 Nov., 1615 (100 Rudd). — .....da. of Robert Jenkinson.

Thomas Gyse, of London, bap.[1] 12 July, 1586. — Elizabeth, da. of Humphry Waldron, of Wood, co. Devon.

Robert. ....

John. George. Arthur. Elizabeth. Margaret.

William Gyse, cf Lincolns Inn and of Glouc. Town Clerk of Glouc. Bap.[1] 23 Oct., 1578, Will dated 22 July, 1640. Prob. 31 May, 1641 (Evelyn 60).

Elizabeth, da. of Thomas Large, of Henbury, co. Glouc.

Anne, bap.[1] 14 Oct., 1574.

Elizabeth, bap[1] 1 Aug., 1576, mar. at Kenn, co. Som., Robt. Haviland, 7th

Elizab., da. and co.-h. mar. Lewis Robert

Anne July, 1604.

Jasper, 5th son, bap.[1] 10 Aug., 1609.

Christopher, 6th son, bap.[1] 7 Feb., 1617.

Elizabeth, eld. da., bap.[1] 5 Ap., 1601.

Edward, 7th son, bur.[4] 29 Jan., 1665.

Mary, da. of ..... Barrow.

Edward, bap.[4] 16 Oct. 1644.

Elizabeth, bap.[4] 21 July, 1646.

Mary, bap.[4] 22 June, 1648.

Angellet, bap. 11 Jan., 1649.

William, bap.[4] 29 Dec., 1652.

Elizabeth, bap. at Arlingham, May, 1635.

Margaret, mar. ..... Leigh.

Christopher 4th son.

Christopher.

Susan. da. of ...Rich, of Dowdeswell, Glo.

Susan.

Margaret, mar. Wm. Leigh, of Addlestrop co. Glouc.

Florence, born 24 July, bap[1] 6 Aug., 1598,

Anne, bap.[1] 19 and bur.[1] 31 Dec., 1602

Elizabeth, born 28 Mar. bap.[1] 5 Apr. 1601. Bur.[1] 29 Jan., 1634

B

Elizabeth, da. of Sir Lawrence Washington, of Garsden, co. Wilts, 1st wife ob. s.p.

= *Sir Christopher Guise, of Elmore* bap.[1] 7 Feb., 1617, *created a Baronet, 10 July* 1661. Bur.[4] 24 Oct., 1670. Will dated 2 Nov., 1668. Prob. 12 April 1671 (44 Duke).

= *Rachel Corcellis, of a noble Italian family, 2nd wife.*

Eleanor, bp[4] 8 May, 1624. Mar.[1] 17 Sep 1644, *Lawrence Washington, of Garsden, co. Wilts.*

Frances, bap.[4] 2 Ap., 1626. *Mar.*[1] 25 Nov., 1647, *John Codrington, of Codrington, co. Glo.* Ex. to husb. will 4 Nov., 1670 (159 Penn). Her will dated 11 Nov., 1674. Prob. 20 Nov., 1676 (71 Lloyd).

Sir John Guise of Elmore, 2nd Bart. Died[2] 19 and bur.[1] 22 Nov., 1695. Will dated 10 Octob., 1684. Prob. 27 Dec., 1695, Glouc., M.I.

= *Elizabeth, 2nd da. of Sir John Grobham Howe, of Compton-in-the-hole, co. Glo.*, Mar. settl. 10 July, 26 Chas. II., inrolled in Chancery. Bur.[4] 21 July, 1720.

William Guise, Clerk, of Abbode Court, Prof. of Oriental Languages, at Oxford. Born at Abbode Court, 1653, entered at Oriel Coll., Oxf., 1669, which he changed for All Souls, of which he became a Fellow, B.A., 1674; M.A., 1677. Died 3 Sep., 1684, aged 31. Bur. St. Michael's, Oxon.

= *Francis, da. and co.-heir of Geo. Southcott, of Buckland, All Saints, co.* Devon. Mar. settl., 10 Nov., 1680.

Elizabeth, only da. of Sir Nathaniel Napier of More Critchell, co. Dorset Bart., 1st wife. Mar. settle. 25 May, 1696.

= *Sir John Guise, of Elmore, 3rd Bart. Died* 16 and bur.[1] 22 *Novem.*, 1732. Will dated 9 Novem., 1732. Prob. 30 May, 1734, P.C.C.

= *Anne da. & co-h. of Sir Francis Russell, of Strensham, co. Worc., Bart.*, and relict of Sir Hy. Every, Bart., 2nd wife. Mar. settl[t]. 20 Dec., 1710. Died 22 Feb., 1734, s.p.

Rachel, mar. Sir Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh, co. Lanc., Bart.

Annabella, mar. Edward Blount, of Blaydon, co. Devon. Both bur. in Antwerp Cath., 1752, M.I.

2 das., one m. Edward, Duke of Norfolk, the other Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.

Sir John Guise, of Elmore, 4th Bart., Bur.[4] May 1769. Will dated Feb, 1764. Prob. 8 June, 1769.

= Jane, only da. and heir of John Saunders, of Mongewell, co. Oxon., and sister and heir at law of John Saunders, Esq., decd., only son of the aforesaid John Saunders. Mar. Settl. 14 June, 1732.

John Guise, bap.[2] 26 May, 1736, bur.[1] 11 Dec., 1755. s.p.

Sir William Guise, 5th Bart., bap.[2] 19 Aug., 1737, died 6 and bur.[2] 17 April, 1783, unmar. Will dated, 21 Mar., 1783 Prob. 10 April following.

Jane Guise, bap. 11 June, 1734, mar. 20 June, 1770, Hon. Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham. Died 8 Aug., 1807, s.p.

Elizabeth, bap.[4] 26 Dec., 1734, bur.[1] 21 Feb., 1756, unmarried.

Joan, da. of ..... Viney, died 20 April, 1680. Bur.[6] 2nd wife.

= *John Guise, of Sandhurst, co. Glouc.* Died at Ablode Court, 1698. Bur.[6] Will da. 13 Jan., 1697. Cod. 7 June, 1698. Prob. 20 July, following, Glou.

= *Hester, da. of Major Wm. Stratford, of Farmcote, co. Glouc., 1st wife.*

Elizabeth, eld. da., mar. Thos. Horton, son of Sir John Horton, *of Elston, co. Glou.*, Kt., mar. settl. 20 Sep., 17 Chas.

William, bap.[4] 4 Jan., 1621. Died unmar.

Henry, see TABLE II.

John Guise, born 18, *bap.*[6] 23 *Nov.*, 1654, *living at Aleppo in Turkey, unmar.*, 1682, died 1687.

Dionisia, born 19, bap.[6] 30 June, 1659, mar. Thos. Motley.

Anne, bap.[6] 4 March, 1667, mar. Thomas Webb, Alderman.

..... da. of ... Aldern, of London.

= *Chris. Guise*, born 3, bap.[6] 13, Aug., 1656, *Attorney of King's Bench of Lon., Oct.* 27, 1682 ob. at Barbadoes.

Rachel, bap.[6] 28 Dec., 1668, mar. Thos. Wilcocks.

Elianor, born 18 Jan., 1657, *mar. Thomas Aldern, of Lond., Draper.*

bap.[6] 30 *Hester*, born 13, bap.[6] 19 Feb., 1660, mar. ..... Yondall. Named in father's will.

John Guise, of Ablode Court, and of London, Major-Gen., 6th Foot, aged 68, 1749. Died 1763.

= *Mary Ann Ursula, eld. da. of Philibert d'Hervart of Bern, Switzerland.*

William Guise, only son, living, aged 21, 1749, *unmar.*

Frances, aged 1 *in* 1682. *Mar. unto Mr. Phipps, but died without issue.*

1 At Elmore. 2 At Rendcombe. 3 At Winterbourne 4 At Brockworth
5 At Churcham. 6 At Sandhurst.

TABLE II.

Henry Guise, of Gloucester and Winterborne, 4th son of William Guise, of Brockworth. Will dated 18 Jan., 1676, Prob. 2 Dec., 1679 (King 161). To be bur. at Winterborne or Elmore. = *Phillippa, da. of Edward Brydges, of Keynsham, co. Som., and sister of Sir Thomas.*

- *Phillippa*, bap. 1652. Bur.[3] 20 Aug. 1672, M.I.
- *Anne*, bap.[4] 1654, mar.[3] 25 Ap., 1671, Henry Still, of the Bury, in Doynton, co. Glou.
- *Henry*, bap. 1653, bur.[3] 25 March, 1672, M.I.
- Elizabeth, bap. 1650, mar. Matthew Huntley, of Boxwell, co. Glou.

- *John Guise*, eldest son, bap.[3] 5 Dec., 1682, died 4 July, 1703, bur. at Tainton M.I. *Died unmar., aged* 21.
- *William Guise*, bur. at St. Mary Crypt, Glou., 1701, aged 12.
- *Henry Guise*, of Upton St. Leonard's, *co. Glouc.*, bap. 1678, died 23 Oct., 1749. Admo. to his relict, 2 Mar. 1749, P.C.C. Bur. at Elmore. = *Mary, da. of Edward Cooke, and co-h. to her brother, Dennis Cooke, of Highnam.* Died 21 Aug., bur. in Highnam Chapel, 27 Aug., 1750. Admo. to Mary Cooke, guardian to John Guise, a minor, 12 June, 1751.

Sir John Guise, of Highnam, bap. June, 1783, *created a Baronet, by letters patent, dated* 9 *December*, 1783. *Died* 2 May, bur.[1] 12 May, 1794. Will dated 12 Feb., 1789. Prob. 6 June, 1794, P.C.C. = *Elizabeth, da. and heir of Thos. Wright*, of Lawrence Lane, London, *and sister and heir of Sir Martin Wright, Knt., one of the Justices of the King's Bench. Mar. settl. dated* 27 *June*, 1770. Married at St. Gerge's, Bloomsbury, 28th June, 1770. Will dated 10 Aug., 1807, last cod 28th March, 1808. Prob. 28th July following, P.C.C., *bur. at Elmore.*

- *Sir Berkeley Wm. Guise, of Highnam bap.* 14 *July*, 1775, Cap. in Royl. Glou. Militia, 8 June, 1798. Died 23 and bur.[2] 30 July, 1834 aged 59. Will dated 15 July, 1834. Prob. 19 Sep., following, P.C.C.
- *Sir John Wright Guise, of Rendcombe*, bap. 20 July, 1777, *a General of H.M. Forces, G.C.B.*, sold Rendcombe, Highnam, and Brockworth, bur.[2] 7 Apr., 1865. Apd., 87. = *Charlotte Diana, da. of John Vernon, of Clontarf Castle, co. Dublin*, mar. at Hawkeshead Church, Lanc., 12 Aug., 1815, mar. settl. dated same day. Died 5 Feb., bur.[2] 9 Feb., 1835, ag. 40
- *Christopher William*, bap.[5] 5 June, 1783, *Died Oct.*, 1803, *bur. in Garrison Chapel at Portsmouth.* Will dated 7 Oct., 1803, Admo. 24 May, 1806, with will annexed.

Jane Mary Catherine, bap.[5] 18 Sep., 1781, *mar.*[5] 22 *July*, 1807, *Edward Webb, of Stoke Bishop, and Norton Court, co. Glou. Died Aug.*, 1811, *bur. at Elmore.*

B 1 At Elmore. 2 At Rendcombe. 3 At Winterbourne. 4 At Brockworth.

William Guise, of Winterborne, and of Gloucester, eldest son, bap.[1] 5 Aug., 1649, died 28, and bur.[1] 31 Aug., 1716. aged 68. = *Dorothy, da. and heir of John Snell, of Uffeton Hall, co. Worc. Died 12 June, 1738, aged 76, Bur.*[1]

Christopher Guise, of Ablodes Court, co. Glou. = *Elizabeth, da. of Colonel Long, of Whaddon, co. Wilts, relict of Aldern, of London.*

Dorothy.

Elizabeth, bur.[3] 11 Ap., 1684.

Theodoria, only da. of Wm. Guise, 1st wife. = *Dennis Cooke, of Highnam, aforesaid, Esq.*, ob. s.p.

Christopher Guise, ob. s.p.

Eleanor, da. & heir, mar. Robt. Mann, of Linton, co. Wilts.

Francis, *Bur.*[1] 20 April, 1736, *in infancy.*

Edward.

William, bur.[1] April, 1737, *an infant.*

Louisa.

Elizabeth, born 22 Ma., 1771, died 1796, bur. 1797.

Maria, bo 5 June, 1774, bur. 1787, *died young.*

Powell Colchester Guise, Clerk in Holy Orders, born 18 *Dec.*, 1778, bap. at Highnam, Feb., 12, 1779, *Rector of Craike, co. Durham, bur. at Craike, May*, 1835. = *Mary, 2nd da. of Nathaniel Clifford, of Frampton Court, co. Glou.* Mar. settl 6 Oct., 1808. *Mar. at Frampton*, 13 *Oct.*, 1808. Died 14 June, 1863.

See next page.

Martin George, born 12 *Mar.*, 1780, *bap.*[5] 2nd Ap., 1780, died at Lima, Vice-Admiral of Peru, killed in action, Dec., 1828. = *Donna Juanna Maria del Valle Rientera, mar. at Lima*, 1827.

Isabel Maria Monica. — *Maria Mercedes Carlota.*

Twins.

5 At Churcham. 6 At Sandhurst.

B

c See last page.

Wm. Christopher, eld. son, born 9 *May*, 1811, *ob.* 2 *Feb*,, 1834, *at Oxford.*

Henry Colchester, b. 12 Aug., 1813, d. 15 Oct., 1814.

John Clifford, d. 4 Jan., 1814.

Twins.

George Clifford, b. 6 Dec , 1816, mar. 1874, Caroline, da. of Joseph Venables Lovett, of Belmont, Esq., Oswesty, Shropshire.

Frederick Chas., b. 22 Oct., 1826, mar. 1877, Mary, da. of Edward Stanley, Esq.

Sir William Vernon Guise, 4th Baronet, of Elmore, born 19 Aug., bap.[2] 28 Nov., 1816.

Margaret Annie Maria, da. of Rev. H. D. Lee Warner, Clerk, of Walsingham Abbey, co. Norfolk, mar. settl. 26 June, 1844. Mar. June. 27th, 1844.

Georgiana Maria, born 20 Oct., 1821, bap. at Newnham, 1823, mar. Hon. Henry Howard, 2nd son of the Earl of Suffolk. Mar. settl. 23 April, 1845.

William Verner.

Henry John Wright.

Vernon George Guise, Clerk, born 5 Sep., and bap. 6 Nov., 1823, Vicar of Longhope, bur. there.

Mary, da. of Robert Lane, of Ryelands, co. Hereford. Mar. settl. 1852.

Vernon Lane.

Julian.

Howard.

Anselm Edward Henry, bap. Sept. 26th, 1847, died Apl. 8th, 1863, at Rugby School.

William Francis George, bap. Dec. 14th, 1851

Christopher Dering, bap. April. 3rd, 1855.

Charlotte Ann Elizabeth.

Henrietta Margaret.

1 At Elmore. 2 At Rendcombe. 3 At Winterbourne. 4 At Brockworth.

Elizabeth Mary, *b.* 9 *July*, 1809, *m.* 2 *Mar.*, 1837, *Thomas Mynors Baskerville*, of *Clyro Court*, *co. Radnor.*

Maria Catherine, *b.* 22 *May*, 1810, *at Craike.*

Jane Charlotte, *b.* 29 *Mar.*, 1812, mar. 1852, Rev. Bernard Gilpin.

Louisa, born. 12 *Aug.* 1814, m. 1849, Robert Green Jeston, of Avon Dassal, co. War., clerk.

Emily Frances, *b.* 12 *Aug.*, 1816, *bur.* 16 *Aug.*, *following.*

Harriet Frances, *b.* 17 *Oct.*, 1817, mar. 1847, Henry Annesley Tyndale, of Holton, co. Oxon, clerk.

Julia, *b.* 27 *April*, 1819, at *Craike.*

Frances b. 3 *May*, 1821, *at Craike.*

Henry John Guise, born 25 Aug., 1817, bap.[5] 8 Ap., 1821, bur. at Benares, 1857, Killed in action.

Frederica, da. of Sir William Verner, Bart.

Francis Edward Guise, *born* 20, bap. 24 April, 1820, of Middle Temple, and of Dean Hall, co. Glouc., Clerk of the Peace for co. Glouc.

Henrietta, da. of Sir James Carnac, Bart.

Reginald Edward.

Rivett Francis.

John Wright.

Hubert.

Emily.

John Christopher, born 27 July, 1826, at Little Dean, bap. 1826.

Isabella, da. of Rev. Arthur and Hon. Catherine Newcombe.

Jane Elizabeth, born 30 January, bap. at Little-Dean, 26 July, 1825. Mar. settl. 9 Dec., 1844. Mar. 10th Dec. 1844, John Wingfield Stratford, of Addington Park, co. Kent.

Jane Isabella.

Margaret Catherine.

Mary Georgina Victoria.

Elizabeth Frances.

5 At Churcham. 6 At Sandhurst.

I hereby certify that the portions of this pedigree which are printed in Italics are upon record in this office.

STEPHEN TUCKER,

Rouge Croix.

Heralds' College,
10 April, 1879.

APPENDIX,

PEDIGREE.—Shewing the descendants of JOHN DE BURGH.

Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, married five wives, one of whom was Margaret, da. of William, the Lion, King of Scotland, by whom he had no issue.

- John de Burgh, senior, died before 1 Dec., 1274, Inq. p.m. 3 Edw. I., No. 85. = Hawis, da. and sole heir of William de Lanvallic.
- John Baliol, Lord of Baynard's Castle. = Devorgilda, da. and sole heir of Alan, Lord of Galloway, by Margaret, eld. da. and co.-heir of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William, the Lion.

John de Burgh, junior, aged 40 on his father's death, ob. 8, Edw. I. = Cecilia de Baliol, 3rd sister of King John, and 2nd co-heir on death of King Edward.

John Baliol, King of Scotland, 1292, born 1250.

John de Tregoz, ob. 1299, Inq. p.m. 28 Edw. I., No. 43.

- Rogerle Warre.
- Clarissia eld. dau. and co-heir. = Sir William, Grandisson, living 1294.
- Sibella, da. and co-heir.
- Sir Robert de Grelli, or Gresley, a minor in 1271, died 1284. See Inq. 56 Hen. III., No. 6, heir of his grandfather Thomas. = Hawisia, da. and co-heir aged 24 on her father's death, ob. 1298. Inq. p.m. 27 Edw. I., No. 43.
- Margery a Nun, at Chicksand, co. Beds.
- Devalgolia, or Devorgilda, da. and co-heir aged 25 on her father's death. Dead 6 Edw. II. (1312).
- Sir Robert Fitz Walter, Inq. p.m. 19 Edw. II., No. 99. See also 6 Edw. II., (1312) = Christian Fitz Walter, da. and co-heir.
- Edward, King of Scotland ob. s.p.

John le Warre, co-heir of John de Tregoz, on whose death he was aged 23 years

From whom descend the Lords de la Warre.

Joan de Gresley, heir of her brother.

Thomas, son and heir, aged 20 on the vigil of St. Lawrence, 1299, ob. 1347, s.p.

John le Mareschal of Rye.

ON CERTAIN CRANIA DISINTERRED AT ST. WERBURGH'S, BRISTOL.

By John Beddoe, M.D., F.R.S.

Read at Bristol, 30th July, 1878.

It is noteworthy that comparatively few measurements of mediæval and recent English skulls have been published, though of ancient Saxon, Keltic, or pre-Keltic ones we possess very many, carefully detailed. The modern English Skulls found in the collections of craniologists have belonged, for the most part, to malefactors or to paupers; and it is more than doubtful whether they at all nearly represent, in size and development at least, the average or typical national form.

The opportunity afforded by the demolition of St. Werburgh's Church and the clearing of its grave-yard was, therefore, a valuable one. This was pointed out to me by Dr. David Davies, and through his kind introduction, and by the permission and assistance of Mr. Wm. Gregory, I was enabled to see and measure upwards of 50 Skulls from St. Werburgh's. Of these, 36 were taken from below the vaults which underlay the floor of the Church. The old Church of St. Werburgh dated from Edward the Second's reign,[1] but was, to a great extent, re-built in 1761. These 36 Skulls must all, therefore, have been prior to 1761, and many of them appeared to be, and I have no doubt were, of much greater antiquity, if not truly mediæval.

I measured also all the Crania that were obtained in a perfect state from the open church-yard. They were 17 in number, not including one which had evidently belonged to a negro, and a few Skulls of children. These were all comparatively recent.

[1] This refers to the lately demolished church, but there can be no doubt that a church had existed on the same site from pre-Norman times—Ed.

The measurements taken were but few, as I had not leisure nor opportunity for elaborate observations. They were—the greatest length from the globella backwards, the greatest breadth wherever found, whether temporal or parietal, and the height from the anterior margin of the foramen magnum.

There was a notable difference between the two series, the older heads being, for the most part, quite unlike the more recent and unlike the Bristolian heads of to-day, so far as I can judge. Dr. Davies suggested to me that they indicated some remains of an early type, neither Keltic nor Teutonic, but possibly Ligurian; and I thought the suggestion plausible. The Skulls in question were short, broad, rounded, rather flat, with rather small frontal region, but otherwise well filled. Of the 36, 13 were decidedly brachycephalic, and 3 more yielded the neutral index of 80, whereas out of the 17 church-yard Skulls not one was brachycephalic, and only 2 neutral. I set down 28 as masculine, and only 8 as feminine; herein probably committing some errors, as I know no reason why male Skulls should have preponderated to so great an extent. It is possible, therefore, that I have put down the average dimensions of the males a little too low, through the admission of a few females among them. With this proviso I give the following averages:—

OLD SKULLS.

	Length.	Breadth.	Height.	Long. Index.	Alt. Index.
28 MALES	7·346	5·887	5·36	80·1	72·9
8 FEMALES	6·956	5·56	5·10	79.9	73·2
36 (Both Sexes)	7·26	5·815	5.30	80	73

Of the more recent, or church-yard Skulls, 10 appeared to be masculine and 7 feminine. They exhibited some of the types which are common in this neighbourhood at the present day, but of the small round type which had attracted the attention of Dr. Davies and myself among the 36, there was not one distinct example among the 17.

RECENT SKULLS.

	Length.	Breadth.	Height.	Long. Index.	Alt. Index.
10 MALES	7·58	5·94	5·40	78·1	71·2
7 FEMALES	7·18	5·33	5·15	74·2	71·7
17 (Both Sexes)	7·43	5·69	5·30	76·58	71·3.

There were two or three large and well-developed Skulls among the 10 males, and the averages yielded, allowing for the thickness of the integuments of living heads, and estimating it according to Broca's rules, were somewhat larger than those I got from 80 of our contemporary Bristolians, mostly belonging to the working classes. The proportion of breadth to length was also somewhat greater in the Skulls, but this excess was reduced to only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. when the females were included; and 17 is but a small number for averaging.

I am not aware of any reason for supposing that the sleepers at St. Werburgh's differed much in race or rank from the occupants of other Bristol grave-yards. Possibly the fact of their having been buried in or under the Church may indicate some slight superiority of rank or class in the 36, and we know that the upper classes have usually the largest heads. On the other hand, M. Broca—it is impossible to talk long about anthropology without referring to our great master, Broca—examining several series of Skulls from Parisian cemeteries, of various dates, found a tendency towards increase of size in the more modern heads, shewn chiefly in a larger development of the frontal lobe. He did not observe any great change in the proportion of breadth to length. But in the case of St. Werburgh's we find an increase in length with a decrease, absolute or comparative, in breadth. Such a change is, *primâ facie*, owing to an admixture of blood, and judging by the eye, I should say it had been due to the immigration of West-country people who altered and confused the old Bristolian type. The great breadth of that old type is difficult to account for. I have some conjectures on the subject, but do not feel justified in airing them at present. I will only say that, if Teutonic, it does not much resemble the Anglo-Saxon type of Davis and Thurnam; and that if descended from the British brachycephal, it must have been much modified and emasculated by the influence of urban civilization

LIST OF SKULLS FROM BELOW VAULTS OF ST. WERBURGH'S.

LENGTH, maximum, from prominence of glabella
BREADTH, maximum, wherever found.
HEIGHT, maximum, from anterior border of foramen magnum.

	L.	B.	H.	
1	7·	6·2	?	
2	7·6	6·	?	
3	7·1	5·7	?	Fem.
4	7·6	5·95	?	
5	7·7	5·9	?	
6	6·8	5·8	?	
7	7·	5·6	?	Fem.
8	7·75	5·9	?	
9	7·3	5·75	?	
10	7·	5·1	5·1	
11	7·2	5·7	5·5	
12	7·3	5·7	5·7	
13	6·7	5·3	5·1	Fem.
14	7·6	6·	5·6	
15	6·7	5·6	5·	Fem.
16	7·5	5·8	5·35	
17	7·5	6·	5·2	
18	7·9	6·	5·2	
19	7·9	6·	5·4	Gaelic type?
20	7·55	5·8	5·5	Ellip. Sax. type, *not very old?*
21	7·6	6·1	5·15	
22	6·8	5·9	5·2	Ligur?
23	7·2	5·75	5·	
24	7·25	5·7	5·5	Flat-sided Phœnozyg.
25	6·8	5·8	5·	Like 22
26	7·15	5·6	5·3	Fem.
27	7·9	6·1	5·25	
28	6·7	5·5	4·9	Fem.
29	7·15	5·8	5·85	
30	6·8	5·6	5·	Fem.
31	7·4	6·	5·6	Saxon Platyc.
32	6·3	5·7	5·2	M? Teeth worn flat.
33	7·4	5 8	5·5	Kelt. Narrow fr.
34	7·5	5·6	5·3	Fem.
35	7·2	5·8	5·2	M.?
36	7·5	6·	5·7	Fine full Teut^{c}.

ABERRANT SKULL from below vaults, not included in averages—Length, 8·2. Breadth, 5·3. Height, 5·3. Flat-sided, with prominent brows and occiput, and seems to belong to some other race—possibly Spanish.

Church-yard Skulls from St. Werburgh's; comparatively or positively recent.

	L.	B.	H.	
1	7·7	5·9	5·3	
2	7·3	5·15	5·1	Fem.
3	6·8	5·15	4·8	Fem.
4	7·5	5·8	5·5	
5	7·	5·5	5·	Fem.
6	7·3	5·5	4·9	F?
7	7·	5·15	5·15	F?
8	7·3	5·8	5·6	F?
9	7·5	5·7	5·25	F?
10	7·8	6·	5·7	
11	7·5	5·8	5·35	
12	7·2	6·	5·3	
13	7·9	6·2	5·7	
14	7·4	6·1	5·7	
15	7·9	6·1	5·2	
16	7·6	5·7	5·4	
17	7·6	5·2	5·2	

SOME REMARKS ON THE ANCIENT PASSAGE ACROSS THE SEVERN,

By the HON. AND RIGHT REV. BISHOP CLIFFORD.

Read at Blaise Castle, 31st July, 1878.

At the distance of about three miles from Bristol stands the village of Henbury, close to which, in the beautiful grounds of Blaise Castle, is an ancient entrenchment, the size and position of which show that it must once have been a stronghold of considerable importance. Its origin, probably, dates back to a period anterior to the Roman conquest, but that the camp was occupied by the Romans is shown by the coins and other Roman remains that have been dug up within its precincts. A similar camp may be seen at King's Weston, rather more than a mile to the south, and others are to be noticed, at intervals, in a northerly direction, along the course of the Severn. There is every reason to suppose that these are some of the forts raised by the Roman General, P. Ostorius, about A.D. 50, to defend the line of the Severn, as Tacitus relates: "Cinctosque castris Antoniam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat."—Annal. l. II., c. 24. Not that we are to consider all these camps to be of Roman origin. The Romans naturally availed themselves of such British works as they found already in existence, but a portion of them were, without doubt, constructed by the Roman soldiers, or rather by the German auxiliaries under Ostorius, for, as Tacitus remarks, the legionaries had not yet come to the General's assistance. "Sine robore legionum sociales copias ducebat."—*Ibid.* This circumstance of the camps having been raised by Germans may, perhaps, account for peculiarities in their construction, which some persons think not in character with Roman camps. The Severn did not long remain the boundary of the dominion of the Romans; they soon advanced into the country of the Silurians, and Caerleon (*Isca*

Silurum), became one of the chief stations of the second legion, the Legio Augusta. The camps on the Severn, after this event, lost much of their importance as a military frontier, but the camp at Blaise Castle, and the one at King's Weston probably retained considerable value on account of their position on the military road which connected Caerleon with the central station, Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*). This road, as we learn from the Itinerary of Antonine, passed through Bath (*Aquæ Solis*), and went across the Severn to Caerwent, in Monmouthshire (*Venta Silurum*). The exact locality of the ancient Ferry has been the subject of much controversy amongst antiquarians, some placing it at Aust, others at Oldbury-on-Severn, others at Sea Mills on the Avon, others elsewhere; but the question still remains an open one. In the remarks I am about to make in elucidation of this point, I shall confine myself to the evidence afforded by the statements of the "Itinerary" compared with the present aspect of the country, and I shall draw attention to one or two points which seem, hitherto, to have escaped notice. I shall not refer to the work "De Situ Britanniæ," imputed to Richard, of Cirencester, which is no longer regarded as authentic, but which has caused much confusion by statements which are at variance with the Itinerary of Antonine. The Itinerary itself dates, most probably, from the second century; it is certainly not later than the fourth, and is therefore an authority of the highest value. The edition I have used is that of 1848, in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica." That there are, occasionally, mistakes in the copy of the work which has reached our times it is natural to suppose, but the existence of such errors must not be lightly assumed. It is our duty, in the first instance, to accept statements as they stand, to compare them, if possible, with the localities as they now appear, and to reject or alter them only in cases where we find them at variance with undoubted facts.

The route now under consideration was one of two military roads, which led from Silchester to Caerleon.

That portion of it with which we are immediately concerned is described as follows :—

Ab Isca		From Caerleon		
Venta Silurum	m.p. viiii.	To Caerwent	miles,	9
Abone	m.p. viiii.	,,	,,	9
Trajectus	m.p. viiii.	,,	,,	9
Aquis Solis	m.p. vi.	To Bath	,,	6

The length of the road between Caerwent and Bath is put down as 24 miles, divided into three stages, the two first of 9 miles each, the latter one of six. The distance between Caerwent and Bath, "as the crow flies," is about 22½ miles; the road, therefore, must have deviated but little from the direct line, as it was only about a mile and a half longer. This is what we should naturally expect. The Roman engineers always chose the most direct route compatible with the nature of the district they had to traverse. Caerwent is less than three miles distant from the bank of the Severn. If we follow a direct line from the town to the coast, in the direction of Bath, we come upon an ancient earthwork of great strength, with forts and outworks, known as "Sudbrooke camp;" it has been recognized as a Roman work; not more than half of it is at present in existence, the remainder has been carried away by the tide, the denuding action of which is plainly visible. The shore of the Severn, which is here raised some thirty feet or more above high water mark, and the lower part of which is alternately washed and laid bare by the tide, is composed of layers of limestone, with clay underneath. The alternate action of the tide and frost, is gradually undermining the upper layers of stone, which give way and lie as boulders on the shore, till they also, in process of time, are by the same agencies removed. The spectator, who stands on the edge of the embankment and contemplates the work of denudation still in progress, will readily understand that during the course of 1500 years and more, a very considerable portion of the coast must have been washed away, and that, consequently, when this fort was erected by the Romans not only was the earthwork complete on the river side but a considerable space of land, probably, intervened between the eastern front of the fortress and the bed of the river. He will also understand why no indications at present exist of what were the

conveniences for the anchorage of ships, and the landing of men and goods, at the period when the fort was built; all such works must long ago have disappeared; but the fact of a Roman fort existing by the river side, so close to Caerwent, and in a direct line to Bath, seems irresistibly to point to the conclusion that here must have been, in former days, the point of embarcation for troops and stores crossing the Severn.

Assuming Sudbrooke camp to be the western extremity of the ferry, the eastern terminus must next be sought for. The Romans, be it remembered, were well acquainted with the action of the tides, and availed themselves of it when navigating our seas. They were sure to do so in crossing the Severn, and, consequently, the corresponding landing place to that at Sudbrooke must be sought for at some spot not directly opposite, but either higher up or lower down on the left bank of the stream. Either Aust or Avonmouth would satisfy this condition, but Aust is a long way removed from the direct line to Bath, and the distance from Caerwent to Sudbrooke, Sudbrooke to Aust, and Aust to Bath exceeds by a good deal the 24 miles allowed by the Itinerary; this objection applies with still greater force to Oldbury. If, on the other hand, we suppose the transports to have *descended* the river from Sudbrooke camp, the deviation from a straight line to Bath is but small. The action of the tide, owing to the bend in the river, is very favourable for boats crossing the stream, and the whole distance is free from rocks; whereas between Sudbrooke and Aust the passage is less clear, and there is a strong current to contend with at the place known as "the shoots." Moreover, it seems that Aust was formerly an island, detached from the main land. If the Romans established a fort in the vicinity of the landing on one side of the river, it is presumable that they did something of the kind on the other side also, and, inasmuch as we know that Ostorius had established a series of forts along the left bank of the Severn, for the express purpose of repelling any hostile descent, it seems natural to suppose that the landing place was in the vicinity of one of these.

The earthworks forming the line of defence established by Ostorius are all on high ground, and at some considerable distance from the river, being separated from it by a wide tract of flat land; but the whole of this tract is a deposit of recent date. The gain of land caused by deposition from the muddy waters of the Severn on the left bank greatly exceeds the loss sustained by denudation on the right; this is chiefly due to two causes: 1st, the removal of a portion of the right shore by denudation has increased the rapidity of the current in that direction, and has slackened it in the same proportion on the opposite side. Where the motion of the water is retarded the deposit of mud previously held in solution necessarily increases. 2nd, the work of nature has been greatly hastened by the hand of man. As the water near the shore became shallower, it was found necessary to construct, at different distances, raised roads across the shallow waters, to reach the navigable part of the river. These acted as dikes to impede still further the course of the waters, and so increased the amount of mud deposited at each tide, which soon began to form tracts of marshy land. The value of the gift was soon understood. On all sides do we see dikes and sea banks constructed, at different periods, to check the action of the river, and prevent the newly-acquired land from being flooded or washed away; and thus, by the joint action of nature and man, a vast extent of what was originally the bed of a river became first a marsh, and finally a rich and fertile plain. This last stage was not reached till within a very late period. The absence of churches and villages plainly indicates that even a few hundred years ago this vast plain was a marsh unsuited for the habitation of man.

Eighteen hundred years ago the waters of the Severn washed the foot of the heights, on the top of which stood the forts of Ostorius, guarding the landing places, and preventing the passing over of the Britons from the opposite shore. The camp at Blaise Castle was one of these forts, and so was the neighbouring camp at King's Weston; in the valley below these, on the bank of the Severn, was a landing place, as is indicated by ancient causeways, extending across the marsh; these causeways were

not constructed till after the new land had been formed, but they, no doubt, are continuations of roads which previously led down to the water edge, and so indicate the direction where the old landing places must have been. The causeway below Blaise Castle bears the name of Chittering Street. The station of Abone, like the modern Avonmouth, probably derived its name from the river Avon; but the mouth of the river in those days did not extend beyond Pen Pole Point. As the station of Venta (Caerwent) was at some considerable distance from the landing place at Sudbrooke, so it is not necessary to suppose that Abone immediately adjoined the landing place on the opposite shore. Abone probably stood by Weston Park, the distance of which from Caerwent agrees well with the Itinerary, and the landing place was either below Blaise Castle or King's Weston. The latter situation is perhaps the most probable. Sea Mills, where Roman remains have been discovered, was, in all likelihood, a port connected with Abone; but it cannot have been the spot where troops embarked for Caerwent, as some writers have supposed. Transports going down the Avon *with* the tide would, after reaching the Severn, have to ascend *against* the tide, in order to reach the landing at Sudbrooke. The landing place must have been on the Severn, and not on the Avon, in order that the passage might be made in one tide. Moreover, the distance from Caerwent to Sea Mills is greater than that stated in the Itinerary. The distance between Weston Park, where I suppose Abone to have stood, and Bath is a little over 15 miles, and the Itinerary states that it was divided into two stages, one of nine, the other of six, miles. Bitton is believed to mark the site of the intermediate station, which view is confirmed by the fact that traces of a square Roman camp are there visible. The camp at Bitton is rather more than nine miles from Blaise Castle, and only five from Bath, but the station may have been at some little distance from the camp. This station is called in the Itinerary *Trajectus*, a name which seems better suited to a station near the *Passage* over the Severn, and, consequently, many learned antiquarians have conjectured that, through an error in the copy we possess of the Itinerary, the names of the stations have been

transposed, and that we ought to read Venta, Trajectus, Abone, Aquæ Solis, instead of Venta, Abone, Trajectus, Aquæ Solis, as at present. This conjecture is plausible, and has been adopted by learned men; but it is, after all, only a conjecture, and conjectural emendations of a text ought not to be easily had recourse to without necessity. No such necessity appears to exist in the present instance. Abone is a name well becoming a town at the mouth of the Avon. On the other hand, that there was a passage, "Trajectus," across the river Avon, not far from Bitton, in British times, seems exceedingly probable. South-west of Bitton may be seen the druidical circle of Stanton Drew; stones of a similar description, though on a smaller scale, exist near Tracey Park, three miles north-east of the same spot; whatever may have been the use of these stones, they clearly mark British places of importance, and as such they were, without doubt, resorted to by the Britons, even before the Roman occupation. A road, or track, between them would cross the Avon, near Bitton; a settlement would naturally grow up near the Passage, whence it would derive its name (as the neighbouring village of Salford does from the *ford*), and this the Romans would translate Trajectus. The word Trajectus is used to signify not only a ferry, but a bridge of boats, such as we see sculptured on the columns of Antoninus and Trajan, and which were in use till of late years on the Rhine, when they were superseded by suspension bridges. Mæstricht, Utrecht, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and Frankfort-on-the-Oder, all bore, anciently, the name of Trajectum, and all seem to have possessed bridges of this description. The Romans may well have established such a bridge at the site of the old British ford, or ferry over the Avon, for at Keynsham, on the opposite side of the river to Bitton, many indications have been discovered of Roman residences. I do not, therefore, see sufficient reason for rejecting the reading of the Itinerary as it has reached us, placing Trajectus near Bitton and Abone near the mouth of the Avon.

THE HISTORY OF THE GUILDS OF BRISTOL,

By ALDERMAN FOX.

Read at Bristol, 31st July, 1878.

THE History of the Guilds of Bristol is very much the history of religious, social, and commercial life in most of our towns during mediæval times; and, with the exception, perhaps, of the Guild of Kalendars, there was nothing unusual or remarkable to distinguish them from the guilds which flourished in London, Norwich, Lynn, Exeter, Winchester, or York.

The Guilds of Bristol consisted of :—

1.—*The Religious or Social Guilds.*

2.—*The Town Guilds or Gild Merchants.*

3.—*The Craft Guilds.*

The most remarkable, by far, in the first division was the Guild of Kalendars, which claimed to have been established nearly 400 years before the Norman Conquest, whose history is so well known, and has been so amply recorded, that it is unnecessary to do more than allude to it. There was also the Guild of the Holy Cross attached to St. John's Church, and that of the Holy Ghost to St. Nicholas.

In the second division the most distinguished was the Guild of Merchant Venturers, followed at some distance by that of the Merchant Tailors, both of which are still in existence.

But in the third division, namely, that of Craft Guilds, there are many which, with slightly altered names, and very much altered constitutions and ordinances, have come down to us in the present day under the title of Trade Unions. It is of one of these Craft Guilds that I am about to speak to night, namely that of the "*Bakers*," not so much because it was distinguished above

the 25 or 30 others of the same class that flourished in Bristol (for it would not compare in importance with either the Guilds of Weavers or of Tuckers), but because it has lived almost to our own day, and because we possess, in a MSS. book, an ample record of its history from the year 1499, in the reign of Henry VII., down to that of Queen Anne. Indeed one of our older citizens assured me that he remembered when a boy hearing his nurse say "The mayor has fixed the assize of bread with the Bakers to-day."

The architectural remains of the Dominican Priory on the Weir are not only valuable for presenting some of the original monastic arrangements in a nearly complete state, but also for including in their connexion the Guild-hall of the company of Bakers, one of the most important of the trading communities of ancient Bristol. This fraternity was part of the vast organization that embraced the entire commercial life of England, an organization in the words of Mr. Froude, "Set on foot to realize that most necessary, if not difficult, condition of commercial excellence, under which man should deal faithfully with his brother; and all wares offered for sale, of whatever kind, should honestly be what they pretend to be." In every town were these companies, whose duty it was to see that no one professed a trade to which he had not been educated, to determine the price at which every article was to be sold, and to take care that everyone bought what he believed himself to be buying.

The modern Friendly Societies and Trades' Unions are rough representatives of the ancient craft guilds, but all vitality of likeness to their prototypes is absent by reason that devotional exercises form no integral part of their ordinances. In the Trades' Unions of the present day offices of religion would be considered an impertinence, but in the mediæval guilds they were as inseparable as green tints from summer foliage. "In this respect," says Mr. Toulmin Smith, "the Craft Guilds of all countries are alike:" and in reading their statutes one might fancy sometimes that the old craftsmen cared only for the well-being of their souls. All had particular saints for patrons, after whom the society was

frequently called ; and, where it was possible, they chose one who had some relation to their trades. They founded masses, endowed altars, and erected painted windows in cathedrals and churches ; and even at the present day their coats of arms and their gifts range proudly by the side of those of kings and barons. Sometimes individual Craft Guilds appear to have stood in special relations to a particular church, by virtue of which they had to perform special services, and received in return a special share in all the prayers of the clergy in that church. In later times the Craft Guilds frequently went in solemn procession to their churches. We find innumerable ordinances, also, as to the support of the sick and the poor. The chief care, however, of the Guildsmen was always directed to the welfare of the souls of the dead. Every year a requiem was sung for all departed guild brothers, when they were all mentioned by name ; and upon the death of any member special services were held for the repose of his soul, and distribution of alms was made to the poor, who in return had to offer up prayers for the dead, as is still the custom in Roman Catholic countries. In the Baker's company of Bristol, we find this characteristic feature of the mediæval craft-guilds set forth in the reformation aspect of the Society, by the maintenance of altar lights to their patron saint, and by their solemn sacramental processions, torch bearing, and minstrelsies ; while on its secular side there are the regulations concerning apprentices and the admission of strangers, together with the various restrictions and limitations by which the solidarity of the association was maintained. The records begin in 1499, the 13th year of Henry VII. It is first of all stated that there were to be four masters, two of whom were to retire yearly ; the remaining two to have precedence of the newly-elected two, and to be answerable for the maintenance of St. Clement's lights, for the torch making, for the floral decorations, for the midsummer feasting, for the payment of the minstrels, &c. The first four masters were John Bole, William Harwyste, Thomas Hawkins, and John Corne, "by whose first mind this book was made;" the book, which is contained in an old vellum wrapper, and which is a curious specimen of the book-stitching of the 15th century, being

the gift of "Thomas Hawkins, the younger, to the use and worship of the said craft."

In the year quoted the lights at the altar of St. Clement, the patron saint of the Guild, were all newly made, by the help of the whole body of the craftsmen, who brought their waxen tapers to the Blackfriars, where the altar had been in former time. It appears that for some reason not explained the company had temporarily left the Blackfriars, and paid their devotions to St. Clement at Christ Church; and upon their return to their earlier chapel, they left the old materials, that is to say "The beme, the iron-work, the Judas, the wax, and the boll." The "Judas" was a candle so named, the symbolism of which has never been satisfactorily explained[1], and the boll was the candlestick of the same. At the Blackfriars they placed a massive iron beam (weighing 177 lbs), and Master Robert Maynfield, the prior of the Dominicans, supplied an iron bar. Thereupon they set ten square tapers of new wax, weighing 34 lbs., "standing there afore the

[1] Since this article has been in type an explanation has been given, by the learned Mr. Mackenzie Walcot, of the symbolism of *Judas Candles and Judas Candle*. He says: there appears to be an uncertainty about the true meaning of the curious mediæval symbolism of the Judas candles and candle. The true meaning lies,—1, in the colour of the candles, and, 2, the mock candle of wood.

1, The Tenebræ candles were the "Judas candles." They were extinguished by a hand of wax, signifying the hand of Judas, of which our Lord said, "He who dippeth with me in the dish, &c." In the old symbolism the wax meant flexible to evil (John Beleth, cap. cj. p. 219; Durand, lib. vj. fo. cclxj, b) The number of lights varied from twenty-seven to seven. They bore the name of the traitor because lighted during the reading of the Passion at Tenebræ, and all but the central one of white wax were of Judas' colour, unbleached, or yellow, the "dissembling colour of Shakespeare.

2 The Judas Candle, Jewes light, Judas of the Paschal, Judas torch, taper wood light, "betinge" light (made of betars or firewood), "indithe" (indictment) light, was a wooden sham or counterfeit candle supporting the true Paschal in the seven-branched candlestick, which stood upright, the others diverging on either side. It was also known as the "Paschal post," or the "timber that the wax of the Paschal is driven upon." The "Judasses" of the rood loft were also wooden candles, on which the wax lights were mounted on the "candle beam." The "Judas Cup" was in use at Durham, on Maundy Thursday. (Notes and Queries, 5th S. xj. 325.)—ED.

altar of Seynt Clement, in ye said Fryars, to the honour and worship of God, and Seynt our Blessed Mary, (*sic*) and Seynt Clement."

Two waxmen were appointed to gather "Seynt Clement's money." Their duty was to warn strangers, who were admitted to work in the craft, to pay their duty to St. Clement's lights; the waxmen who, through want of vigilance, suffered any stranger journeyman to "depart and goe his way" without paying such duty, were to make good the deficiency. Every stranger, after he had served a month was to pay xii pence, and then to serve six weeks and pay a penny, and every month following a penny. At the same time they purchased their common hall for a term of sixty years. The hall was then painted, three of the windows (A.D. 1500) were barred with iron, and the window at the high dais was half built up with freestone and half glazed. About the walls were hung pictures on canvas, severally imaging St. Clement, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Michael, St. James the pilgrim, St. Peter, St. John the Baptist, and St. Stephen. We have then the names of sixteen strangers admitted during the year, who each paid his xiid. to St. Clement's lights; also William Hawkins gave to the worship of God and St. Clement, "a ryal"[1] towards ten new Judasses, and ten bolls to hold them.

The freedom of the company was purchased for different sums:—One Thomas Sonnys, in 1501, gave 6s. 8d. for his "setting up," and in the same year John Barrell set up craft amongst us by an agreement to pay 40s., half the sum at once

[1] The ryal was identical with the noble. This coin was first issued by Edward III., at the value of 6/8 or half a mark, and was the only gold coin of English mintage until 1485, when Edward IV. published the angel. It was sometimes called the *rose-noble*. The obverse represents the King standing in a vessel asserting the dominion of the sea. Henry V. is said to have diminished the noble, at the same time making it pass for its original value. It was restored by Henry VI. to its former size, who caused it to pass for 10/- under the new name of *ryal*, which, with the angel at 6/8, were the only gold coins in circulation until, in 1585, Henry VII. issued double ryals and double sovereigns. At the time of the gift mentioned in the text, therefore, the ryal was worth 10/-. Henry VIII., in 1527, increased the value of the ryal to 11/3. – ED.

and the remainder in three instalments during the year. For the same privilege in A.D. 1504, from 16 pence to 18 shillings and 4 pence was paid. The number of names on the book in A.D. 1502 was thirty. Amongst the payments in this year was 3s. 4d. for a "Breakfast to IIII. Aldermen, and the Town Clerk at the 'Star.'" The heaviest item of the year 1529 was 20s. 6d. to the Minstrels at Midsummer; and in 1532 five Minstrels receive 30s. This was before it had been declared of minstrels that

> "Beggars they are with one consent,
> And rogues by Act of Parliament."

In 1544, in addition to xxs. paid to four Minstrels, xiid. reward was paid to the King's (Henry viii) Minstrels, for trumpeting before the Bakers, which is the last mention we discover of the profession in these records. Towards the end of the 16th century, the order of men called minstrels had lost all credit, and had sunk so low in the public estimation that in the 39th year of Elizabeth, a statute was passed whereby Minstrels, wandering abroad, were included amongst rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, and were adjudged to be punished as such.

On Corpus Christi day it was customary for the company to go in procession to the High Cross, and many entries occur of payments on such occasions to bearers of the "pageants" and "torches," and to Minstrels for their music. This festival was, perhaps, the greatest feast of the mediæval Christian Year: being celebrated in the open midsummer air, there was opportunity afforded for a brilliant display of hallowed banners, chalices, crosses, relics, lights, and crucifixes, which, with images and pictures of scriptural and legendary saints, were conveyed in procession through the street; while the walls and windows were hung with rose garlands and green boughs, and adorned with rich tapestries, and the way was strewn with flowers. The consecrated Host, the crown of the rejoicing, was carried in a gold or silver pix, beneath a canopy of silk and cloth of gold, while the four orders of Friars, Monks, Priests, and Clergy, together with the Guilds of religion and commerce, with bedesmen and burghers completed the retinue of

the large and splendid procession. A dinner was also served in the hall of the respective companies, but the repast, in general, does not seem to have been a sumptuous one, and in that of the Bakers there were no extravagant luxuries; bread and ale appear to have been liberally supplied, these being the only articles of diet specially named.

One of the offices of the Mayor of Bristol was to overlook the Bakers and the assize of bread. In Ricart's Calender (18 Edw. IV.) we are told that "hit hath been vsid, the Maire of Bristow anon after mighelmas, to call byfore hym in the yeldehall, or counseill hous, all the Bakers of Bristowe, there to vndirstand whate stuff they haue of whete. And after whate sise they shall bake, and to assist and counseil them in their byeng and barganyng with the Bagers, such as bryngeth whete to towne, as wele in trowys as otherwyse, by lande and by watir, in kepyng downe of the market. And that the Bakers lak no stuffe, in especiall ayenst the fest of Christmas, and at suche tymes as many straungers resortith to the towne. And the Maire dyuers tymes to ouersee the weyeng of brede, at such seasons as he thynketh it necessary and requisite, aftir his discrecion, or vpon complayntz made vnto hym for the same. And that the Baker's enhaunce not their sizes above vid. at ones, according to the statute, &c. And whate Baker that breketh the sise to be punysshed aftir the constitucion of the Towne." (Ricart's Chronicle, p. 82.) What these constitutions were, we have ample evidence in the charter granted to Bristol by Edward III., in April, 1347, which states that "We have also granted for ourselves and our heirs to the Mayor, bailiffs, and goodmen, that they and their successors aforesaid, for the better keeping of the assize of bread to be made in the town, shall be empowered in future to inflict such punishment on bakers who break that assize in the same place: namely, to draw such bakers who offend against that assize upon sledges through the streets of the town aforesaid, and otherwise to punish them, as is practised in like manner with regard to such bakers in our city of London." This charter is beautifully illustrated with the picture of a baker being so drawn on a hurdle, and being

whipped into prison. It is believed also that they were "*wynched*" in Wine Street, where the corn market used to stand, the wynch being a mild sort of rack, or neck-stretcher, the application of which would be deemed by many spectators almost as entertaining as was that of the ducking-stool for scolding women.

We find the first gleam of the Reformation in the title accorded to the king, who 10th Dec., 1545, is styled "our Sovereign Lorde, Henry VIII., by the grace of God the only hygh and supreme hedde of the Church of England and Ireland, &c." Unfortunately the leaves containing the entries of the year 1556 and 1557 are missing, but we find no more payments for "bearing the pageant"[1] after the death of Queen Mary. The Pageant, however, with four flags, and two silk streamers were kept in store, perhaps in waiting for another change of faith, till 1642, after which we hear no more of these ensigns of the craft.

Additional ordinances and fines appear in the book, the more important of which may be summarised thus :—

In 1578 it was decreed that henceforth "No Baker shall bake any sale bread for their shops on Tuesdays nor Thursdays, but they shall bake sufficient store of such sale bread to serve the Commons only on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays;" and likewise "Shall bake wyven[2] bread only on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, for the Commons, and on no other days."

In 1624 it was resolved that no bread of any kind should be sold to "hucksters," to be sold by them again. Of twenty-two masters who signed this agreement, ten could not write their own names. In 1668, it was agreed that "No half-penny roll should be made for wholesale or retail sale, on pain of forfeiture of ten shillings and their bread."

[1] The primary signification of this word was a stage or platform, which was called *pagina*, it may be supposed from its construction, being a machine *compaginata*, framed and compacted together. It was the stage on which the plays or mysteries of the Guilds were performed, which from it derived the names of "pageants;" and for this purpose was borne from place to place. (See Promp. Parv.)—Ed.

[2] Household bread, from *wyven*, a wife; that is bread made at home and sent to be baked.—Ed.

In 1669 "No young man was to be made free of the Company and Society of Bakers unless he paid £3 3s. 4d. towards the Hall and Hall implements."

In 1673 the Master and Wardens bought of Mr. Richard Streamer, Mayor, near upon 600 bushels of wheat, at 7s. the bushel, to be divided amongst the whole company, who received from 20 to 40 bushels each.

In 1674 it was ordered that "Weaven [1] batch should be baked only on Tuesdays and Fridays;" that "No vantage should be given to bread in a shop, nor to sell bigger than 2d. bread to hucksters."

In 1691 it was agreed "Not to bake for meat-sellers, and to stop ovens before 6 o'clock in the afternoon.

In 1692 it was agreed "Not to sell more than thirteen to the dozen to hucksters."

In 1700 "Not to sell any other than bread of assize, except bespoke."

In 1705 "Not to bake for less than eight pence per bushel."

In 1705 "Not to bake any half-penny roll, except bespoke."

In 1709 the charge for baking was reduced to 6d. a bushel, and 3d. half-bushel.

In July, 1697, the Hall was ordered to be sold.

In 1665 the Mayor and Aldermen ordered that no bread should be baked or sold on the Lord's day.

I conclude this paper with an epitaph, copied from the tomb of a master-baker, in Christchurch.

Here lyeth Thomas Turner, and Mary, his wife. He was twice Master of the Company of Bakers, and twice churchwarden of this parish. He died March 6th, 1654. She died May 8th, 1643.

Like to a Baker's oven is the grave,
Wherein the bodies of the faithful have
A setting in, and where they do remain
In hopes to rise, and to be drawn again;
Blessed are they who in the Lord are dead,
Though set like dough, they shall be drawn like bread.

[1] Household, see note on last page.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL,

By RICHARD JOHN KING, B.A.

Read in the Chapter House, 1st August, 1878.

The best excuse for my appearance to-day as the describer of your Bristol Cathedral, is, perhaps, the fact that under special circumstances, I have been led to make a close study, not only of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales, but of the Church Architecture of many of the principal English counties. There is nothing quite like this Cathedral of Bristol, either in England or on the Continent. It stands, in many respects, alone; and a minute acquaintance with other great English churches of the same period enables even an unprofessional student like myself to recognise and appreciate its very remarkable peculiarities. We are accustomed to think of the several styles of Gothic architecture as distinguished, one from another, by special mouldings, special forms, special ornaments; and of course we are quite right in so thinking. But what we do not so distinctly recognise is the fact that these forms and ornaments, whilst they preserve, in most cases, the character which marks them as Early English, Decorated or Perpendicular—as belonging to this or that century—are, nevertheless, varied in different parts of the country in a manner which can hardly escape some sort of notice, although few, perhaps, have opportunities of comparing group with group, or of knowing how widely different is the contemporary architecture of districts, all within the four seas of Britain, but as much separated, anciently, by difficulty of communication as if the sea or great mountain ranges had altogether isolated them. No one, for instance, can visit Lincolnshire or Northamptonshire, where the churches are of especial grandeur and interest, without recognizing a peculiar originality displaying itself in many ways—in ground plan—in the disposition and design of ornament—or in the outline given to

certain parts of the buildings, as in the Early English octangular tower of Stanwick in Northamptonshire, and in the later detached campanile, also octangular in its upper stage, at Irthlingborough in the same county. So when we pass along the north-western border of the fens—the so called Marshland of Cambridgeshire and Norfolk—we are struck, at once, by the magnificent and very peculiar character of the churches throughout the district; an especial richness of invention and of arrangement which ranges from the twelfth century to the sixteenth, but which seems to reach its climax in the Perpendicular period in the design and construction of such a wonderful church—the expression is not too strong, if we consider the solitary position of the building—as that of Terrington.

We hardly understand what admirable results may be produced by original genius, working on and in the recognized lines of a definite architectual style, until we have seen some of these remote churches, or some of the groups, belonging to the same period, in parts of Yorkshire or of Lincolnshire. We know so little of the ancient methods of working that it is impossible to say whether these marked local developments were due, in the first place, to the mind of a single architect, or to an almost unconscious growth in the companies of workmen to whom the erection of a great church was sometimes unreservedly entrusted. Probably both causes were at work. What has been called the most original design in the whole range of Gothic architecture, the octagon of Ely, was certainly thought out by one man—the Saint Alan of Walsingham, "*flos operatorum*" as he was rightly styled on his tombstone. But when we find a definite originality stamped on the work of a district from the beginning—and hardly disappearing until true Gothic itself disappears—we shall most likely be right in assuming that architectural traditions have been handed down from one period to another, and that the same causes which produced the original spirit of invention have aided in bringing about fresh outbursts of it from time to time and in the differing styles of the centuries. This is the case with the architecture of the district of which Bristol is one of the principal centres.

The ancient centre, so far as we can judge, of the architectural peculiarities which mark it, the source at which they were first developed and from which they spread, seems to have been Glastonbury. Early in the Transitional period, we find there certain features not to be marked elsewhere, and which the late Professor Willis pointed out as in all probability indicating a special school of workmen ; a school which was somewhat behind in the general advance of architectural style, but which possessed an originality and a life that went far to make up for such a defect—if it is so to be regarded. From Glastonbury the peculiar characteristics of this school spread to Wells, where much of the work in the interior of the Cathedral is marked by a certain Norman heaviness, although we know that, at the time of its building, the Early English style had elsewhere been fully developed. Then from Wells it advances towards Bristol, and spreads itself gradually over those parts of South Wales which had become tolerably Anglicized, especially in Pembrokeshire and the district of Gower. It is distinctly to be traced in the great nave of St. David's Cathedral. Finally, it crossed St. George's channel with Strongbow and his Norman followers, many of whom, as we know, were from Pembrokeshire and Glamorganshire. The Cathedral of Christ Church in Dublin, which has just been so admirably restored under the care of Mr. Street, and the church of St. Canice at Kilkenny, both built by the Normans immediately after their Conquest of Dublin and the surrounding country, present features—such as the many-ringed shafts of doors and windows, and the peculiar management of the capitals in the great arcades, which are so completely the same as are to be found in Gower, at Wells, and elsewhere, as to leave no possible doubt that the Norman builders in Ireland imported their architect or their workmen, probably both, from this side of the Channel. These works, directly or traditionally imitated from Glastonbury and Wells, belong for the most part to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[1] But the originality of the school by no means died out. Later features, quite as striking, and quite as distinguishing, occur throughout the whole district over which the

[1] See Ante, p. 17.

school of workmen first spread themselves; and amongst the most original, the most important, and I shall add, the most beautiful of their later works, however the school may have been influenced by the personal ability and superintendence of Abbot Knowle, was, as I believe, this great Church of the Augustinians at Bristol,—now the Cathedral.

The great beauty of this church has not always been recognised. Mr. E. W. Godwin, whose careful study of the fabric has rendered easy the labours of his successors, in describing the work of Abbot Knowle—that is, in its main features, the whole of the church east of the central tower— says: "whatever may have been the actual extent of his work, that which now remains convinces me that it is but part of one bold continuous project, which, if carried out to the full length, would doubtless look full of design and originality, although like many old and new works of the same class, by no means pleasing."[1] I scarcely understand what Mr. Godwin means by "works of the same class;" but Abbot Knowle's project, with but slight modification, has now been carried out to the full length. The nave, so long wanting, has been added to the choir and transepts; and how far the Cathedral, in its renewed condition, can be pronounced "unpleasing" may, I think, safely be left to the judgment of all who are visiting it to-day. There are some attempts at architectural originality, even in the best periods, which, are certainly not pleasing. Such for instance is the sharply pointed arch, which, without any necessity, the architect has used throughout the otherwise most beautiful north transept of Hereford Cathedral, the transept in which stands the base of the shrine of St. Thomas Cantilupe. But at Bristol, I confess that the great originality of the design seems to me to have resulted in nothing but what is admirable. It is quite true that nothing precisely like this church is to be found anywhere else. The great distinguishing features are:—the lofty main arcade, without triforium or clerestory, the aisles of equal height with nave and choir, and consequently admitting of

[1] Bristol Cathedral, by Edward Godwin, F.S.A., in the Journal of the Archæological Institute, vol. xx., p. 51.

those lofty and magnificent windows which quite compensate for the absence of the usual stages above the arcade, the roofing, or rather the vaulting of the aisles, and the disposition and design of the sepulchral recesses. There are minor details which we shall see in passing round the church. Altogether none of these features are found elsewhere. There is no one church contains them all except this Cathedral of Bristol. But certain of the details do occur elsewhere, and in the district over which the peculiar school of Glastonbury spread itself at an early period. The remarkable form and decoration of the sepulchral recesses are found both at Llandaff and at St. David's; slight suggestions, but sufficient, as it would seem to intimate that some common tradition—perhaps embodied in one great guild of workmen—was still alive, and that the originality, which had in a former century displayed itself at Glastonbury and at Wells, was still capable of starting into life in new forms, and under new conditions.

We have thus before us if not one of the largest, yet perhaps the most peculiar, and by no means the least interesting, of English Cathedrals. Before we examine it in detail it may be as well to note, very briefly, the history of the church and the dates of its main portions. For all this I must again express my especial obligations to Mr. Godwin's paper.

Norman. 1st period.—1142-1148. Old church, and the Abbot's Lodging.

It is the sparing and judicious economy of the Provost of Bristol contrasting with a lavish and almost extravagant richness of the Baron Monk.

Norman Church.—Small staircase in north aisle; portion of walls of south transept; base of the walls in the north transept; lower part of the tower piers.

Exterior of south transept. In west wall a blocked-up doorway, with nook-shaft and plain soffit, indicating the early work of the Prepositor. This doorway was a temporary entrance to the first Norman Church, blocked up when the Norman aisles were built.

Flat pilaster buttresses at angles of this transept set off in the wall, indicating the level of the old parapet, &c., &c.

Norman work of north transept confined to the coursed masonry between Early English jambs of great north window. Staircase, *Norman* work inside, consisting of corbel-heads of very rough character.

Norman Nave.—South wall of arch found in removing some old houses on the site.

Lower or Abbot's entrance.

The great gateway, though Norman in character, was rebuilt in the Perpendicular period, and partakes of some of the details of that style.

It was a monastery for Augustinian Canons—I purposely use the word *Augustinian*, we might as well talk of "Benedict" monks as of Augustine or Austin Canons—The order was founded by or at least in the time of St. Augustine of Hippo, but was not brought into England until after the Conquest, and was founded here by Robert Fitzhardinge in 1142.[1] In 1148 the church, or part of it, was ready for consecration. But in 1155 the King, Henry II., granted to Fitzhardinge the forfeited estates of Roger de Berkeley, by which means, says Mr. Godwin, "The founder was enabled to provide for the abbey to a much greater extent than at first contemplated." Accordingly we find Norman work of two distinct periods, the first plain, in the transepts, the second, in St. Augustine's gateway and elsewhere, much richer, and belonging to the time after Fitzhardinge's increase of wealth. Unfortunately we have no documentary evidence to throw light on the building of the church until we reach the time of Abbot Knowle (1306-1332), and then it is scanty enough. The Norman church was however completed, and with nearly the same ground plan as that which now exists—nave and aisles, central tower and transepts, choir and presbytery. But the church can scarcely have been finished before a Lady-chapel was added projecting from the North transept, in precisely the same position as the much later Lady-chapel at Canterbury, and nearly the same as that of the Lady-chapel at Ely. This Lady-chapel was probably erected under the sway of the third Abbot, John (1196-1215). Some changes were afterwards, but also in the Early English period, made in the walling of the North transept; and the roof and East window of the Lady-chapel were renewed in the reign of Edward I. They are at any rate of early geometrical character, and must date sometime between 1283 and 1294. With these changes the Norman church

[1] Robert Fitzhardinge, the founder, became a Canon of this Monastery and died in 1170.—ED.

remained unaltered until Abbot Knowle began to rule the monastery in 1306. He entirely remodelled the Eastern portion of the church—that beyond the tower. Two chapels—the Berkeley chantry with its vestibule, and the Newton chapel, one at the Eastern the other at Western end of the South choir aisle, were added soon after Knowle's death, as we now see them, and are late in the Decorated style. Abbot Newland (1481-1515) remodelled the central tower, and re-constructed the roof of the North transept. The vaulting of the North transept is due to Abbot Elliot (1515-1526).

These have been the principal changes of the Church so far as they are at all recorded. The Norman nave was perhaps pulled down by Abbot Knowle; since, in preparing the ground for the present nave, the bases of piers were found, apparently of the same date as his work in the choir. But that nave was, it is believed, never finished; and it remained for the present generation to witness the completion of Abbot Knowle's design, in a manner which sufficiently proves that at least one architect of the nineteenth century can enter heart and soul into the feeling and the character of the great works of those "wise of heart in wood and stone," who lived when art was still religion.

VESTIGES OF THE SUPREMACY OF MERCIA IN THE SOUTH OF ENGLAND, DURING THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

By THOMAS KERSLAKE.

"……residual phenomena……, the small concentrated residues of great operations in the arts are almost sure to be the lurking-places of new chemical ingredients……It was a happy thought of Glauber to examine what everybody else threw away."—SIR J. F. W. HERSCHELL.

HAVING sometimes said that the date of the original foundation of the lately-demolished church of St. Werburgh, in the centre of the ancient walled town of Bristol, was the year 741, and that a building so called has, from that early date, always stood on that spot, I have been asked how I know it. I have answered; by the same evidence—and the best class of it—as the most important events of our national history, of the three centuries in which that date occurs, are known. That is, by necessary inference from the very scanty records of those times, confirmed by such topical monumental evidence as may have survived. But this fact in itself is, also, of considerable importance to our own local history; because, if it should be realized, it would be the very earliest solid date that has yet been attached to the place that we now call Bristol. We are accustomed to speak, with a certain amount of popular pride, of "Old Bristol," and in like manner of "Old England," but without considering which is the oldest of the two. The position here attempted would give that precedence to Bristol.

It need scarcely be mentioned that what we now call England is no other than an enlargement of the ancient kingdom of the West Saxons, by the subjugation and annexation of the other kingdoms of the southern part of the island. A subjugation of

which the result is that our now ruling sovereign is the successor, as well as descendant, of the Saxon Kings of Wessex, and of the supremacy which they ultimately achieved. Of course this was only the final effect of a long series of political revolutions. It was preceded by others that had promised a different upshot: one of which was the long-threatened supremacy of the Anglian kingdom of Mercia; by Penda, a Pagan king, and afterwards, during the long reigns of Æthelbald and Offa, his christian successors in his kingdom and aggressive policy.

One of two fates awaits a supplanted dynasty: to be traduced, or to be forgotten. Although this milder one has been the lot of the Mercian Empire, yet it is believed that distinct, and even extensive, traces can still be discerned, beyond the original seat of its own kingdom, of its former supremacy over the other kingdoms of England. In fact, this name itself of "England," still co-extensive with this former Anglian supremacy over the Saxons, is a glorious monumental legacy of that supremacy, which their later Saxon over-rulers never renounced, and which has become their password to the uttermost parts of the earth.

But it is with the encroachments of Æthelbald upon Wessex that we are in the first instance concerned. South of Mercia proper was another nation called Huiccia, extending over the present counties of Worcester and Gloucester, with part of Warwickshire and Herefordshire, and having the Bristol river Avon for its southern boundary. It is barely possible that it may have included a narrow margin between that river and the Wansdyke, which runs along the south of that river, at a parallel of from two to three miles from it; but of this no distinct evidence has been found. Some land, between the river and Wansdyke, did in fact belong to the Abbey of Bath, which is itself on the north of the river, but that this is said to have been bought—"mercati sumus digno pretio"—from Kenulf, King of the West Saxons', makes it likely that it was the river that had been the tribal boundary.

Until divided from Gloucester by King Henry VIII., the

[1] Cod. Dip. cxliii.

Bishopric of Worcester substantially continued the territory, and the present name of Worcester = Wigorceaster = Wigorniæ civitas (A.D. 789), no doubt transmits, although obscurely, the name of Huiccia; and the church there contained (A.D. 774) "pontificalis Cathedra Huicciorum." The name may even remain in "Warwick," and especially in "Wickwar" = Huiccanwaru; but such instances must not be two much trusted, as there are other fruitful sources of "wick," in names. In Worcestershire names, however, "-wick" and "-wich" as testimonials are abundant. Droitwich = "Uuiccium emptorium" (A.D. 715), almost certainly is so derived, in spite of its ambiguous contact with the great etymological puzzle of the "Saltwiches."[1]

At all events, within a hundred years from Ceawlin's first subjugation of it, Saxon Wiccia had become entirely subject to Anglian Mercia. But there can be no doubt that its earliest Teutonic settlers were West Saxons. Even now, any one of us West Saxons, who should wander through Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, would recognise his own dialect. He would, perhaps, say they "speak finer" up here, but he would feel that his ears are still at home. If he should, however, advance into Derbyshire, or Staffordshire, or Eastern Shropshire, he would encounter a musical cadence, or song, which, though far from being unpleasant from an agreeable voice, would be very strange to him. He would, in fact, have passed out of Wiccia into Mercia proper: from a West-Saxon population into one of original Anglian substratum.

What was the earlier political condition of Wiccia before it fell under the dominion of Mercia: whether it was ever for any time an integral part of the kingdom of Wessex, or a distinct

[1] Dr. Lappenburg (I. 38) describes the people of Warwickshire and Worcestershire as the "Gewissi." But the "Gevissæ" was the ancient name of the southern main stem of the West Saxons, who made their way into Somerset and Devon (Bæda. H. E. III. 7), and plainly a name of distinction from the Huiccii. All the pre-Christian pedigrees of the West Saxon leaders have an early name "Gewis," which has been, with great likelihood, supposed to have been the origin of the name of the Gevissæ. In some only of the pedigrees, this name is next preceded by "Wig." This seems to point to a division of the leadership between two kinsmen, perhaps brothers; and the Wiccii or Wigornians to be derived from the latter.

subregulate of it, is uncertain. Two of the earlier pagan West-Saxon inroads (A.D. 577-584) were of this region, and happened long before that race had penetrated Somerset. It is not to be believed that any part of later Somerset, south of Avon, was included in either of these two pagan conquests of Ceawlin; nor even the south-west angle of Gloucestershire itself, that forms the separate elevated limestone ridges between the Bristol Frome and the Severn. There are some other reasons for believing that these heights immediately west of Bristol—say, Clifton, Henbury, and northward along the Ridgeway to about Tortworth—remained, both Welsh and Christian, for nearly a century afterwards; and that they were only reduced to Teutonic rule along with the subjection of Saxon Wiccia itself to Anglian Mercia. The record in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of the conquest of A.D. 577 plainly indicates the course of it, by the names of the places concerned—Bath, Dyrham, Cirencester, and Gloucester. It was not any river that was the instrument of advance; but, flanked and supported by the ancient Foss-way, the continuous elevated table-land of the southern limb of the Cotswolds, still abounding with remains of military occupations of yet earlier peoples. This is separated from the more western height by a broad belt of low land, then a weald or forest, since known as Kingswood; which, the line of the places named in the annal of the conquest, plainly indicates to have been purposely avoided: the district west of it, therefore still continued British. As to Ceawlin's second expedition, A.D. 584, it most probably extended from Gloucester to the country between Severn and Wye, as far as Hereford,[1] and into the now Saxon-speaking Worcestershire. But that Ceawlin followed the Severn, and penetrated Cheshire to an unimportant place called "Faddiley," is not only unlikely, but rests entirely on a single philological argument, concerning that name, too refined and unpractical for the burden laid upon it[2], and inconsistent with the later associations of the name itself.

But if Wiccia became West-Saxon in 577-584, it did not long remain undisturbed by its Anglian northern neighbour. About

[1] A.S. Chron., "Feathan leag"—Welsh Chronicles, "*Ffery llwg.*"

[2] Dr. Guest in Archæological Journal, vol. XIX., p. 197.

fifty years later (A.D. 628). it is recorded in the Chronicle, that the rulers of Wessex and Mercia, fought at Cirencester, "and then compromised." This shews that hitherto, for fifty years, all Wiccia had been ruled by Wessex : also that, except what reduction of territory may be represented by a Mercian inroad as far as Cirencester, it still continued under Wessex. But although this exception itself did not last many years longer, this is enough to account for our finding a Saxon people under Anglian government. In another fifty years, Wiccia is found to have become a sub-regulate, governed by Mercian sub-kings, and constituted a separate Bishopric, an offshoot from Mercian Lichfield ; and from that time the kings of Mercia and their sub-reguli are found dealing with lands in various parts of Wiccia, even to the southern frontier, as at Malmesbury and Bath ; and by a charter of Æthelred, King of Mercia, dated by Dr. Hickes, A.D. 692, the newly instituted cathedral in the city of Weogorna, is endowed with land at a place well-known to us by what was, even then said to be an "ancient name," Henbury ("vetusto vocabulo nuncupatur heanburg."[1])

Much needless demur, if not excitement, has of late years been stirred up by some of the learned,[2] at the name "Anglo-Saxon," for the oldest condition of English. They allege that this designation is "a most unlucky one," and that in the first half of this century it was the cause of a "crass ignorance" of the true relations of continuity in this nation before and after the Norman conquest. Those who remember that time, well know that this imputed ignorance did not prevail : that if the most ordinary schoolboy, had then been asked, why William was called "the Conqueror," he would have at once, rightly or wrongly, answered "because he conquered US," and that he was only less detested than "Buonaparte," because he was at that time farther away. They have now lived to be astonished to find that, by their own confession, the higher scholars of this later age are terrified by a fear of confusion

[1] Thesaurus, I. 169.

[2] Dr. Guest and Mr. Freeman, and their followers, as the Saturday Review, and the various school histories, which, having adopted the innovation, are lauded in that journal.

in this rudimentary piece of learning. So these learned men put themselves into the most ludicrous passions, and—let us try to humour them—King "knut"-like scoldings at the tide, and Dame Partingtonian mop-twirlings, to cure us of such a dangerous old heresy. For old it is, and deeply rooted. Those "Anglo-Saxon" kings who assumed the supreme rule of the kingdoms of both races, so called themselves: and the entire "Anglo-Saxon" literature has been only so known in modern Europe, for the last three centuries; not only at home, but in Germany, Denmark, France, and wherever it has ever appeared in print. Yet another most learned and acute and sober Professor has been lately tempted to join the "unlucky" cry: saying that "It is like calling Greek, Attico-Ionian."[1] Why "Greek?" Why not "Hellenic?" Is not "Greek" an exotic, and as barbarous as "Attico-Ionian" or "Anglo-Saxon?"

But in our concern with the Wiccians we are exempt from this newly raised dispute. Here we have a great colony of a Saxon people who very soon fell under the dominion of Anglian kings, and so remained until a later revolution, the final supremacy of Wessex, made them once more Saxon subjects. The Wiccians, at any rate however, had become literally Anglo-Saxon: a Saxon people under Anglian rule. Shakespear was a Wiccian, born and bred—if one, who has taught us so much more than any breeding could have taught him, can be said to have been bred amongst us—at any rate he was born a Wiccian, and thereby an Anglo-Saxon, in the natural and indisputable sense: a sense earlier, stricter, and more real than that which afterwards extended the phrase to the entire kingdom. Wiccia was no doubt colonized by the Saxons, while the Saxons were yet pagan; and afterwards christianized by their Anglian Mercian subjugators. Not so the Saxons of Somerset, who were already christians when they first penetrated that province.[2]

Subsequent annals of the Chronicle shew that Wessex long remained impatient of the loss of Wiccia. In A.D. 715, a battle is shortly mentioned at a place, usually, and not impossibly, said

[1] Prof. W. W. Skeat, Macmillan, Feb. 1879, p. 313.

[2] See "A Primæval British Metropolis." Bristol, 1877, pp. 45-80.

to be Wanborough, a remarkable elevation within the fork of two great Roman ways a few miles south of Swindon. But our business is with three later entries in the Chronicle, for the three successive years 741, 742, and 743; of which the first for A.D. 741, will be first here submitted as the record of the final subjection of Wiccia, and the establishment of the Bristol Avon as the permanent southern frontier of Mercia. The other two Annals will then be otherwise disposed of.

These are the words of the Chronicle :—

A.D. 741. Now Cuthred succeeded to the West-Saxon kingdom, and held it sixteen years, and he contended hardly with Æthelbald, King of the Mercians.

A.D. 742. Now was a great Synod gathered at Cloveshou, and Æthelbald, King of the Mercians was there, and Cutbert, Archbishop [of Canterbury], and many other wise men.

A.D. 743. Now Æthelbald, King of the Mercians, and Cuthred, King of the West-Saxons fought with the Welsh.

We have in these three Annals a specimen of that condensed form and style, that is common to this ancient text and still more venerable primæval records; and which invites and justifies attempts to interpret them by the help of any existing external monuments.

There are still known in England thirteen dedications of churches or chapels in the name of St. Werburgh, although, perhaps, not more than half of them are any longer above ground.[1] Seven, however, out of the thirteen are within the counties of Stafford, Chester, Shropshire, and Derbyshire : that is, they are within the original kingdom of Mercia, wherein, as the posthumous renown of the saint never extended beyond a nation, or rather a dynasty, that long since has been extinct and forgotten, we might

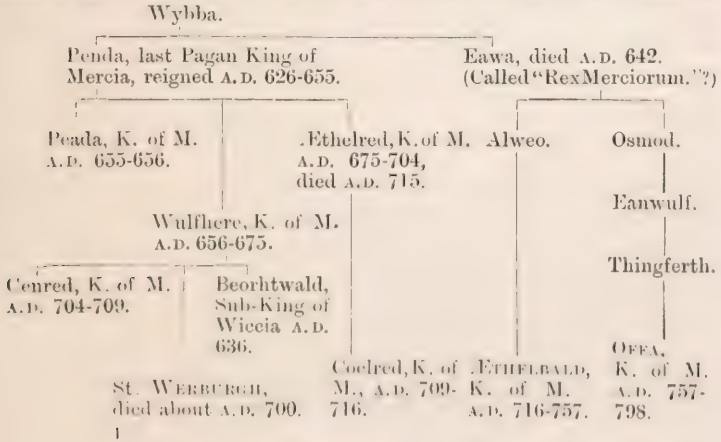
[1] One of the obsolete ones was brought to mind by a paper read by Mr. C. E. Davis, at Bath, in 1857 : another is printed from the Register of Worcester Cathedral in Thomas's Survey, kindly pointed out by Mr. John Taylor ; so that others, unreckoned, may possibly be brought to light.

There is one, in addition to all those above mentioned, at Dublin ; but, as the dedications in Strongbow's Dublin are no more than a post-Norman colonisation of those at Bristol, it does not enter into our reckoning.

have expected to have found them all. But the other six are extraneous, and three of them great stragglers. These must have owed their origin to political and military extensions of the influence of that kingdom, and these, it is intended to show, are found in places where Æthelbald, one of the three Mercian aspirants for English empire, has made good a conquest. This dedication may, therefore, be believed to have been his usual method of making his mark of possession.

St. Werburgh was the daughter of Wulfhere, the second christian King of Mercia, who was the son of Penda, the last pagan King. Æthelbald was the grandson of Eawa, a brother of Penda, probably the Eoba, who, in the Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 644, is himself called "rex Merciorum;" so that Æthelbald and Werburgh were what we should call second cousins.[1] Wulfhere, A.D. 675, was succeeded by his brother Æthelred, who placed his niece Werburgh at the head of three great convents of women, with a sort of general spiritual charge of the female portion of the newly christianised kingdom. She is said to have died about A.D. 700, for it is noted that on opening her coffin in the year 708, her body, after eight years, was found unaltered, and her vestments undefiled; and from this time, sealed by this reputed miracle, the renown of her sanctity soon grew to beatification; and when, eight

[1] The genealogical relation of St. Werburgh and Æthelbald will be seen in this extract from Dr. Lappenberg's Pedigree of the Kings of Mercia.



years afterwards, her kinsman Æthelbald began his reign, she had achieved the reputation and precedence of the latest national saint. She was, however, one of a family of whom many of the women have transmitted their names, from immediately after their deaths to our own times, attached to religious foundations. Among these, that of her aunt, St. Audry, still lives in Ely Cathedral: and this example may serve as a crutch to those who find it hard to realise the unbroken duration of churches, with these names, direct from the very ages in which the persons who bore them lived; for the continuity of this name at Ely is a matter of open and undisputed history, unaided by mere inference, such as our less conspicuous case requires. There are some, also, who stumble at finding all the female saints of particular provinces to have been members of one royal family. But of this we have an analogy pervading the entire area of our own every-day life, in the active assistance in all benevolent purposes, received by the clergyman of nearly every parish, from the leisured daughters of the more wealthy families. In those missionary days, the kingdoms of the newly-converted rulers were the only parishes, and the king and his family were as the squire and his family are now; and the greater lustre, which then shone out around the name of each, was as that of a little candle, in their wider world, compared with what would be its effect in a general illumination now. The earlier British churches have presented us with the same phenomenon. The numerous progeny, of children and grand-children, of Brychan of Brecknock, have nearly all left their names in many churches in South Wales, and even in the opposite promontory of Cornwall and Devon.

The historical facts of the name and local fame of this royal personage are all that we are concerned with. Otherwise, in some later times, it has been adorned with the usual amount of miraculous fable. The most notable of the miracles credited to her is, that one of her corn-fields being continually ravaged by flocks of geese, at her mere command they went into voluntary exile. As this is said to have happened near Chester, it is easy to refer the story to the monks there, who alone were interested in gilding her

shrine with it; and her relics were not translated there till nearly two hundred years after her death. At any rate, the citizens of Bristol are living witnesses that her name is no safeguard of her heritage against the devastations of wasteful bipeds, who are not only unwise, but also unfledged. This imputed miracle is more transparent than is always the case with such embellishments of the lives of those who were the first to accept the new faith, and to promote it with active earnestness. In it may, at once, be discerned an ordinary incident of her pastoral or predial economy, exaggerated to a miracle in an age which preferred supernatural to natural causes.

The career of Æthelbald is, of course, more widely known, holding, as it does, a prominent place in the general history of the times. His reign extended from A.D. 716 to 755, and was chiefly employed in extending his sovereignty by the subjugation of neighbouring kingdoms, and by his munificent patronage of the church. In the first year of his reign, he at once showed a disposition to commemorate his own friends, by dedicating churches in their names, by using this method of perpetuating, at Croyland, the recent memory of Guthlac, his kinsman and protector in exile. It seems, however, that the pagan manners of the northern mythology are not purged for several generations after conversion: but, as appears from another example, of the practical paganism of the Dukes of Normandy, down to our William the Mamzer, unless attended with more than the average cruelty and injustice of the times, meet with only a qualified reproach, until they are in conflict with church discipline and law. The celebrated severe, but friendly and respectful epistolary rebuke from Bonifatius,[1]

[1] The birth, in the West of England, of this assiduous propagator of the great mediæval embodiment of civilisation, zealous devotee of the Church, and prominent European statesman, is so important a fact in our ethnical topography as to deserve a passing, though attentive, glance. On the authority of those who personally knew him, he was born near Exeter, about the year 680; but, although no Saxon Conquest had yet extended so far westward, he bore a Saxon name, although in the midst of a Celtic people. From this, and from other circumstances also mentioned of his early life, it may be inferred that his father was a peaceful Saxon colonist, in advance of conquest, and still a pagan; and that his mother was a British Christian. He is, therefore, the earliest recorded example of that

Archbishop of Mainz, contains a heavy indictment against both Æthelbald and his predecessor Coelred, and their courts, while

irrepressible compound of the two races that has since made so many deep and broad marks upon the outer world. This fact, of a pacific international intercourse antecedent to conquest, was so directly in conflict with evolved history, that it has provoked an ineffectual attempt to subvert the testimony of it, by questioning the undoubted reading of the name as being that of Exeter. (E. A. Freeman, Esq., in Archæol. Journal, vol. xxx., or Macmillan M., Sep. 1873, p. 474).

Another, but later, testimony gives us the name of the place near Exeter where he was born: Crediton, in a deep and most fertile valley of that middle district in Devon which is the interval between the highlands of Dartmoor and Exmoor, but rather to the south-west of that district. Here there is reason to believe Christianity had already been established at a much earlier time, by Croyde, or Creed, an Irish missionary virgin, who has left her name at other places throughout both Devon and Cornwall. The incredulity, that Crediton was the birthplace of S. Bonifatius, was vindicated by saying that it has "no *ancient* authority whatever." It has not contemporary authority like that for "near Exeter," which, however, it strongly confirms, and which, for English topography of so early a date, is almost unique in its explicitness, but it has an authority as ancient as we are obliged to be content with for nearly all we know of those times, and far more respectable than most of it. The authority is a church-service book, still preserved in Exeter Cathedral, compiled by Bp. Grandisson (died A.D. 1366), and attested by his autograph. If this had been a mere outdoor tradition, and had rested upon no more than the personal authority of this most distinguished man, it would even then have been the very highest evidence of its kind. But it does no such thing. Bp. Grandisson is not the *author* of the book any more than St. Osmund is the author of the Usages of Sarum. He is the codifier of the immemorial observances of the church, at which the contemporary biographer of St. Boniface attests that he received his earliest teaching; and of the very existence of which church their irreproachable attestation is by a long interval the earliest record.

But there is another evidence that this great man of his age was known, to his compatriots in his own province, as one of themselves. Of this they have left a substantial monument in the dedications of two churches still remaining in Devon, not in his ecclesiastical name, by which the rest of the world knew him, but in his birth-name of "Winfrid" by which they had remembered him. The two more distant extant dedications of Bonchurch, Isle of Wight, and Banbury, Cheshire, on the contrary, in their dedications of "St. Boniface" are mere reflections of his realised continental greatness back upon his own island.

Winfrith, near Lulworth, in Dorset, probably had a third western example of the dedication, for although the present church is of Norman structure, and with a different dedication (St. Christopher), most likely, as in many other cases, an earlier sanctuary existed in Winfrid's name.

it acknowledges his prosperity, munificence to the church, and his just administration.

Having these specially national or tribal circumstances in view, it is thought that the six dedications of St. Werburgh that are found beyond the original Mercia must have had special causes, which it is believed can be found in the transactions that are recorded in the three successive Annals of the Chronicle above recited; and that the dedications and the Annals will therefore be found to mutually account for each other. The seven churches within Mercia, without any doubt each has its own history, mostly connected with Æthelbald: perhaps all except the present Chester Cathedral, which arose out of the translation, nearly two hundred years later, of her relics to that place, from her original shrine in one of her three convents. But these home dedications do not fall within our purview, which is limited to the wanderers.

When the Chronicle, A.D. 741, says that Cuthred of Wessex contended with Æthelbald of Mercia, it can only mean that he attempted a reprisal of some portion of Wiccia: but it appears from the Annal of 743, that in the two years the combatants had become allies. The frontier between Mercia and Wessex had been finally determined; and there we find the name of Æthelbald's recently beatified kinswoman, thrice repeated, along his own north bank of the Avon—at Bath, at Bristol, and at Henbury. It should be noticed that otherwise than these three, thus placed with an obvious purpose, none whatever are found throughout the whole length and breadth of Wiccia, the other seven being scattered within Mercia proper.[1] It is hence inferred that these three dedications are contemporary with each other, and the immediate result of the transaction of A.D. 741. It may also be worth noting that one of the still surviving dedications of St. Werburgh within Mercia, at

[1] What may be presumed to be another dedication of St. Werburgh has since been traced to its place, and may be reckoned as an eighth of those in the home kingdom, at its southern frontier. Among the landmarks (A.D. 849) of a place called "Coftun," is Werburgh's cross ("in Waerburge rode") Cod. Dip. CCLXII. This has been found to be Cofton Hackett, in that north point of Worcestershire that abuts upon Staffordshire and Shropshire.

Warburton, is similarly situated within the northern frontier, the river Mersey; and probably records a similar result of Æthelbald's inroad of Northumbria, entered in the Chronicle at the earlier date of 737 : also, according to Bæda, A.D. 740.[1]

The St. Werburgh at Bath is no longer in existence, but its site is still on record. It was less than a quarter of a mile north of the Roman town, and about a quarter of a mile from the departure of the western Roman road, now called Via Julia, from the Foss Way, and between them, and very near to both.[2]

What was the condition of the spot now occupied by Bristol, in the centre of which, until yesterday, for nearly eleven hundred and fifty years, the church with this name has stood, when it was first planted there, this is not the place to discuss. A century-and-a-half earlier (A.D. 577), Bath, as we have seen, had been occupied by the West Saxons, and had no doubt so continued, until this advance southward of Æthelbald's frontier also absorbed that city, or certainly its northern suburb, into Mercia. A great highway, of much earlier date than the times here being considered, skirted the southern edge of the weald that we only know as Kingswood; and at least approached the neck of the peninsula—projecting into a land-locked tidal lagoon, not a swamp, flooded by the confluence, at the crest of the tide, of Frome and Avon—upon which stands Bristol, and which has been hitherto crowned with Æthelbald's usual symbol of Mercian dominion. As long ago as ships frequented the estuary of the Severn—ages before the times we are considering—it is inconceivable that the uncommon advantages of this haven could have been unknown. A British city had, no doubt, already existed for unknown ages on the neighbouring heights west of the lagoon; and there is a reason, too long to set forth here, to believe that the sheltered Bristol peninsula itself was used, by the West-Saxons of Ceawlin's settlement at Bath, as an advanced frontier towards the Welsh of West Gloucestershire, long before it was appropriated by Mercia. It was, perhaps, already a town before Æthelbald planted upon it one of his limitary sanctuaries, having, *more Saxonico*, a fortress on the isthmus, upon which

[1] Lib. v. [2] See Warner p. 238. Collinson's Som., vol. I. Bath, p. 53.

the great square Norman tower of Robert the Consul was afterwards raised.

All that is known of the sanctuary at Henbury is, that it was one of the chapels to Westbury, confirmed to Worcester Cathedral by Bp. Simon (A.D. 1125-50), and is described in his charter as "capella sancte Wereburge super montem Hembirie sita."[1] This is in that south-western limb of Gloucestershire, bounded by the Frome, Avon, and Severn, and separated by Kingswood Forest, which it has already been suggested was never Saxon, but remained Welsh until subdued by Mercia.

So that as the only examples of this dedication to be found south of Staffordshire and Derbyshire, are the three which line the north shore of the Avon, the new frontier of Wessex and Mercia; the entire district of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and all the intervening country, from east to west, being totally without them; these three are manifestly arrayed in one line for a special purpose. The record, of the contest of Wessex and Mercia, contained in the Annal of A.D. 741, is thus accounted for in this monument of its result. Three more distant St. Werburghs remain, of which two will now be appropriated to that of A.D. 743. The one for A.D. 742, passed over for the present, will afterwards be shewn to involve the remaining sixth.

It will be remembered that, in the year 743, the Chronicle shews Æthelbald and Cuthred, who two years earlier had been fighting each other, now united, by perhaps an analogue of a Russo-Turkish alliance, against an enemy who, while Cuthred had been engaged with his Teutonic rival, had become troublesome in his rear, and dangerous to both. Under this year, 743, it says "Now Æthelbald King of the Mercians and Cuthred King of the West Saxons fought with the Welsh." It does not say which of the then surviving three great bodies of the Welsh, who had been pressed into the great western limbs of the island, that are geographically divided from each other by the estuary of the Severn and

[1] Thomas, Worc. Cath., 1736, Append. No. 9. p. 6. It might be worth while to search for remains of it in plantations thereabout. It is distinct from the chapel of St. Blaise, and on a different eminence.

the great bay of Lancashire; but none can be meant but the Damnonian or Cornish Britons—the "Welsh" of the West Saxon Cuthred. No more of Devon could then have been held by the West Saxons than the fruitful southern lowlands, easily accessible from Somerset and Dorset, and from the south-coast. Most or all of Cornwall, and the highlands of Dartmoor and Exmoor, extending into north-west Somerset, still remained British or Welsh; as for the most part in blood, though not in speech, they do to this day.

Written history is silent as to the parts separately taken by the allies in this contest; but other tokens of that of the Mercian are extant; and the two dedications of St. Werburgh that will next engage us are among the most significant. A glance at Mercia and the extent of the provinces annexed thereto by conquest, betrays a ruling political aim at obtaining access to the great seaports. Besides the Humber with Trent, and the Mersey, and, as we shall see below, the Medway, and the Thames itself; what is more to our purpose, we have found it already in possession of Bristol, added to Gloucester and the mouth of the Wye. An aggressive kingdom, with this policy, needs no chronicle to tell us that ships were abundant; and that at least it must have been able to command the transport service of a large mercantile fleet. It will readily be understood that one of Æthelbald's strategies, in aid of his ally against his Damnonian insurgents, would be, to outflank the ally himself; and establish a cordon across his rear. This was effected by transporting, from his Wiccian ports on the Severn, to the north coast of Devon, a large migration of his own people; who not only occupied the district between the Dartmoor highlands and the north coast, not yet Teutonized by Wessex; but possessed themselves of the entire line across the western promontory, between Dartmoor and the Tamar, as far as the south sea near Plymouth.

Of this strategic movement several strong indications remain upon the face of the district; which it is thought, mutually derive increased force from their accumulation. One of them is the existence, at the outposts of this expedition, of two of Æthelbald's favourite dedications of his kinswoman. One, at Warbstow, stands

at the western extremity of an incroachment of about eight miles beyond the Tamar, near Launceston, into Cornwall—still visible in our county maps, in the abstraction of an entire parish from the western side of the otherwise frontier river, by an abnormal projection beyond it. The other is at Wembury, where the church is finely situated on the sea-cliff of the eastern lip of Plymouth Sound. These two examples of the dedication, which was the favourite stamp of the conqueror's heel, mark therefore the western and southern extremities of the assumed invasion.

Another trace of this great unwritten Mercian descent upon Damnonia, may be discerned in the structure, as well as the constituents, of the place-names that cover the invaded district. The country, between the central highlands of Devon and the north west coast of Devon and north-east of Cornwall, is not only secluded into an angular area bounded by the sea; but lies quite out of the course of the torrent of West Saxon advance westward: which indeed had been evidently checked by the Dartmoor heights. It might have been expected, therefore, except for the explanation now offered, that this district would have retained a strong tincture of its original Celtic condition, in that lasting index of race-occupancy its place-names. In this respect it might have presented the appearance of having been conquered, but not of a complete replacement of population. On the contrary, at the first glance of a full-named map, or in a passage through it, the entire district is surprisingly English. Besides this, the place-names have not only conspicuous peculiarities of structure, that at once distinguish this district from that of the West Saxons south and east of Dartmoor; but these recur with such uncommon frequency and uniformity, stopped by almost arbitrary limits, as to be manifestly due to a simultaneous descent of a very large population, at once spreading themselves over the whole of an extensive region.

One of these notes of a great and simultaneous in-migration, is the termination of names in "-worthy;" which literally swarms over the entire tract of country between the Torridge and the Tamar. It is continued with no less frequency into that abnormal loop of the Devon frontier, which having crossed the Tamar stretches away

towards the St. Werburgh dedication at Warbstow, and may be assumed to have been afterwards conceded to a condensed English speaking population already in possession; when, two hundred years later, King Athelstan determined that frontier. Others of these names are found scattered down southwards, over the western foot of Dartmoor, towards the southern St. Werburgh at Wembury, near Plymouth Sound. It is thought that this Devonshire "-worthy" is a transplant of the "-wardine" or "-uerdin" so frequent on the higher Severn and the Wye; changed during the long weaning from its cradle. In Domesday Book the orthography of the Devonshire "-worthys" and the "-wardines" of Worcestershire, Herefordshire, and Shropshire, was still almost identical, and their orthographical variations flit round one centre common to both. There is a "Hene*verdon*" at Plympton, close to Wembury.

Another ending of names, also noticeable on the score of constant repetition over this large though limited area, is "-stow," found annexed to the names of church-towns as the equivalent of the Cornish prefix "Lan-" and the Welsh "Llan-." Another very numerous termination is "-cot." But, with regard to these two, it should be mentioned, as a remarkable difference from the case of "-worthy," that "-worthy" almost ceases abruptly with the Tamar boundary, except that it follows the Devon encroachments above mentioned across that river; whilst the "-stow" and "-cot" continue over the north-east angle of Cornwall itself to the sea. Although this observation does not conflict with our Mercian in-migration, it is not accounted for by it. It may indicate successive expeditions or reinforcements, after Æthelbald's; occurring as they do beyond his Warbstow outpost. One incident of this disregard of the frontier, occurs in a difference of the behaviour of "-stow" on the two sides of it, and may be worth noting for its own sake. On the Devon side of the Tamar is a "Virginstow," with a dedication of St. Bridget: on the Cornish side of the boundary is "Morwenstow," preserving "morwen," understood to be the Cornish word for "virgin." So that this English "-stow" is found added to both the English and the Cornish name, each

derived from a pre-existent church, dedicated to a female saint. The dedication of the present Morwenstow church appears to be uncertain; but Dr. Borlase and Dr. Oliver have both found, in Bishop Stafford's Register, note of a former chapel of St. Mary in the parish.

It is not meant that these three name-marks are not to be found in other parts of England: on the contrary, we shall hereafter see Mercian operations in other counties sufficient to account for a very wide sprinkling of them. What is here dwelt upon is the unexampled crowding of them, showing simultaneous colonisation upon a great scale. Another, but smaller, group of "-worthy" and "-cot," occurs on the Severn coast of Somerset, about Minehead, indicating another naval descent of Mercia. In fact, although the great swarm above described occurs between the Torridge and the Tamar, two distinct trains flow from it: one, as before said, over the west foot of Dartmoor to the south sea: another along the Severn coast, eastward, ending with the Minehead or Selworthy group; and does not crop up again until in Gloucestershire it is found in its home midland form of Sheepwardine, and Miserden.

Another example of this sort of connection of Mercia with Cornwall and south-west England may be briefly cited. Among the few—not more than six or eight—non-Celtic, but national or non-Catholic, dedications in Cornwall, is one of St. Cuthbert; a name that is also continued in "Cubert," the secular name of the town. It is situated in one of the promontories that so boldly project into the sea on the north coast of Cornwall, but farther westward than the English footsteps above noted. A very learned and acute writer[1] could not make out how "St. Cuthbert has made his way from Lindisfarn to Wells;" and says, perhaps truly, that it "does not imply a Northumbrian settlement in Somerset." But St. Cuthbert at Wells, might reasonably be left to the cross-examination of historians, or neighbours, of that place; and if judiciously and reverently questioned, by the help of what is here said, would possibly give a good account of himself.

It is quite true, as might have been expected, that St. Cuthbert

[1] Saturday Rev., Ap. 24, 1875, p. 533.

is much more often found at his home in Northumbria than in the south-west of England. In the south-eastern counties he has not been found at all: but over the midland counties, and all down through the western ones he is thinly sprinkled all the way. Between Humber and Mersey, and Tweed and Solway, forty-three can be named if required, and Bishop Forbes adds many from his side of the border. Derbyshire has one at Doveridge, near the Mercian royal castle of Tutbury; Warwickshire one at Shustoke, eight miles south of another villa regia at Tamworth; Leicestershire, Notts, Beds, have each one; Lincoln and Norfolk two each; Worcestershire perhaps one in the name "Cudbergelawe;"[1] Gloucestershire, one at Siston by Pucklechurch, and probably a second in the name "Cuberley;" Herefordshire two, or three? Somerset one at Wells; Dorset one, or two? Devon one, Cornwall one.

This condensed statement of a series of facts, constitutes one of the phenomena of our argument; and shall here be accounted for by an observation, to which there will, further on, be occasion to revert. Whatever may have been the causes, there was a more intimate earlier intercourse between the Anglian kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia, than between them and the more southern or Saxon kingdoms; so that, in fact, the hagiology of Northumberland is found to have infiltrated into that of Mercia. Sometimes the intercourse was hostile, and of this St. Oswald's prevalence in Cheshire, Shropshire, &c., is an instance historically known. Another cause might be collected from a study of any pedigree tables of the rulers of the two kingdoms. A later action of this mutuality appears in the dedications of the Northumbrian Alkmond, found in towns built by Æthelfled, who, Amazon though she be reputed, confessed her womanhood in her *cultus* of the child-martyr, as at her town of Derby and Shrewsbury. When, therefore, we find Northumbrian dedications in these unlikely southern regions, we are not driven to "imply a Northumbrian settlement," but a sprout of Northumbrian hagiology, replanted along with a Mercian settlement.

Midway between Wells and Somerton is Glastonbury. The

[1] Reg. Worc. Priory, Camden Soc.

Chronicle published by Hearne as John of Glastonbury, says that Æthelbald "rex Merciorum," A.D. 744, gave to Abbot Tumbert, and the Familia at Glaston, lands at "Gassing and Bradelegh"[1] Bradley is known and plain enough, and adjoins the Foss Way, near Glastonbury and Somerton; the other place is variously, and very corruptly written: once "Seacescet." But there is still better evidence that at this time the supremacy of Æthelbald of Mercia was acknowledged in this district of Wessex. A charter, also dated A.D. 744, of a gift of land at "Baldheresberge et Scobbanuuirthe"—Baltonsburg and, as some say, Shapwick—to Glastonbury, by a lady called Lulla, with the licence of Æthelbald, "qui Britanniæ insulæ monarchiam dispensat." The first signature is Æthelbald's, followed by Cuthred of Wessex "annuens;" after which other witnesses, including Herewald, Bishop of Sherborne. It is printed in the Monasticon[2] and by Mr. Kemble,[3] both from the same manuscript, but with many slight variations in orthography which seem to be arbitrary in either. Mr. Kemble prints "Hilla," but John of Glastonbury has "Lulla," and so have both Dugdale and the new Monasticon. Mr. Kemble puts his star stigma but, although not of contemporary clerkships, it must transmit, in substance, a more ancient deed, and is at least an accumulative ancient and written confirmation of the external evidence already given of the supremacy of Mercia in this part of Wessex, and the subordination of Cuthred, even within the territory allotted to him at the contest of A.D. 741. Observe, in passing, an example, in the name "Scobbanuuirthe," of the Mercian—"-uuerdin"—in a transition form towards the "-worthy" of North Devon.

At all events, it is not to be wondered at that we should find a St. Cuthbert on the north coast of Cornwall, among the other symptoms that have been given of a Mercian settlement there. But one in Devon deserves some particular notice; because it is found identified with one of the examples of "-worthy" which is an outlier, and far away from the crowd that has been so much dwelt upon. These two tests of Mercian influence have indeed travelled far away from their fellows, but travelled together. It

[1] Page 105. [2] 1846. Glaston. No. LXXXV. [3] Cod. Dip., No. XCII.

is at Widworthy, in the eastern corner of the county, between Honiton and Axminster, where the dedication and the termination, although compatriots, are both strangers together. No chronicle explains this, though no doubt it has a story never yet written. But it seems cruel to forsake the St. Cuthbert at Wells to account for itself, unhelped. After all that has been lately said, and insisted upon, to the contrary, what if it should turn out that the "Sumertun" of the Annal of A.D. 733, was Somerton in Somersetshire, twelve miles south of Wells, as our deprecated obsolete school-books used to teach us? Another twenty-five miles reaches Widworthy. The then existing Foss-Way, which, even in its grass-grown abandoned fragments, is still a broad and practicable travelling road, passes within a very few miles of Wells, Glastonbury, Somerton, and Widworthy.

But a more substantial evidence, of a long continuance of Mercian influence beyond the Tamar, is not wanting: and even of its great extension farther westward, down to the time of King Alfred. A large hoard of coins and gold and silver ornaments was found near St. Austell in 1774; and a description and tabulation was lately published, by Mr. Rashleigh of Menabilly, of 114 coins that were rescued from the scramble.[1] Of these, no less than 60 were of Mercian Kings (A.D. 757-874), whilst only seventeen belong to the then dominant West-Saxon sole monarchs (A.D. 800 to Alfred), and one to Northumbria.

Add to these notes of the Anglian—and not Saxon—kinship of the English population of north-east Cornwall, the recurrence in that county of what, to uncritical ears, has a great likeness to the song or musical cadence already mentioned as met with in Mercia proper. West Saxons who had seen the first production of the comedy of "John Bull," used to tell us with much relish, how this peculiarity was imitated upon the stage: and, in spite of the friction of an active scholastic career, it is still occasionally discernible in cathedral pulpits. It has even maintained, to recent times, a feeling among the West Saxons of Devon that a Cornishman

[1] An account of A.S. Coins, &c. Communicated to the Numismatic Society of London, by Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq., 1868.

is, in some degree, a foreigner. What again about the "Cornish hug" in wrestling?[1] so strongly contrasted with the hold-off grip of the collar or shoulders, and the "fair back-fall" which is the pride of the Devonshire champion. It has nothing to do with the erudite difference of Celt and Teuton. The men of Devon—such as Drake and Raleigh[2]—have nearly as much Celtic blood as those of Cornwall. Cornishmen are fond of saying that their English speech is more correct than that of Devon: by which they mean, that their dialect is nearer to the one that has had the luck to run into printed books. Perhaps it is more Anglian and less Saxon. After a neighbourship of nearly twelve hundred years, let them now shake hands and be Anglo-Saxons: or Englishmen, if they prefer it, and wish to include the super-critics in their greeting.

Five out of the six extraneous dedications of St. Werburgh have now been referred to the active presence of Æthelbald, at the places where they are found, especially in connection with his exploits as they are obscurely recorded in the two Anglo-Saxon Annals of the years 741 and 743. The sixth, and last, of them remains, in like manner, to be brought into contact with him, and with the other recited Annal of the intermediate year, 742. We left three of the dedications as sentinels of their founder's conquest of his southern frontier of Wiccia. Two more were at the more distant duty, of keeping guard over his strategic settlement, on the western rear of Wessex. The one yet to be dealt with is that of a church still known by the name of that saint, yet more distant from her Mercian home; in the extreme south-eastern county of Kent: and it only remains to enquire what business it has had; not only so far away from its midland cradle, but also from the abiding places of its fellow wanderers.

Perhaps this would have been a much shorter task than either of the others, but that, at this part of the enquiry, our path is crossed by a controversy that began nearly three centuries ago, and has been ever since maintained with more or less warmth; and with so much learning, and variety of opinion, that the only

[1] *Wesseronicè* "vvrasseling."

[2] No matter about their names. Their ethnical pedigree is distinctly blazoned in their portraits.

point of approach to unanimity among the contenders seems to be an acknowledgment that they have each left it unsettled. Yet this includes the question before us; whether or not the Annal 742 of the Chronicle really concerns that part of the island wherein the last of our outlying series of St. Werburghs has come to our hands. It is, indeed, believed that the newly-imported fact itself, of our finding this dedication where it is, may be a weighty contribution to the settlement of the question; yet the controversy has been so long carried on, and has involved so great an array of authoritative and orthodox scholarship; that we can only presume to pass it, by carefully and respectfully over-climbing it, and not by a contemptuous Remusian leap.

This remaining sixth St. Werburgh is situated within that small peninsula of the north shore of Kent, which is insulated by the mouths of the Thames and Medway. In fact, it is not unlike a tongue in a mouth, of which Essex and the Isle of Sheppey are as the teeth or gums. A line from Rochester bridge to Gravesend would separate more than the entire district from the mainland: indeed it is all of the county of Kent that is north of Rochester. It consists of an elevated chalk promontory, about ten or twelve miles from east to west, and four from north to south, inclosing several small fertile valleys: added to which, on the north or Thames front, is a broad alluvial level or marsh, within the estuary of that river, of several miles in width. Camden says of this peninsula, "HO enim vocatur illa quasi Chersonessus." It is, accordingly, a large specimen of that sort of configuration of a tract of land in its relation to water, of which the name is often found to contain the descriptive syllable, "-holm," "-ham," or "-hoe." Whether or not these three are dialectic varieties of one word, need not here be considered: it is certain, however, that the names of such peninsular tracts are very often found to be marked with "-hoe;" and "Hoo"[1] is the name of the hundred

[1] A remarkable cluster of four or five names, with the form "-hoe," occurs on the coast of North Devon, in that part where we have already pointed to the unrecorded Mercian descents upon the Damnonian Britons (see before pp. 119-121). This is very far away from the much more numerous assemblages of it, which are in the Anglian parts of England. It has been

which still constitutes the largest and most prominent portion of this peninsula. So it was already called, even before the early time with which we shall find our own concern with it; for in a charter, dated A.D. 738,[1] it is already mentioned as "regio quæ vocatur Hohg." In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 902, it is mentioned as "Holme." In Domesday,[2] the hundred which constitutes the peninsular portion, is called "*HOV*;" the isthmus portion having already, however, become a separate hundred, then called "Essamele," now "Shamwell." The towns in the district have their proper names added to "Hoo," as "Hoo-St.-Mary," and "Hoo-St.-Werburgh:" and this last has the church above referred to. This is situated on the southern or Medway shore of the Hoo; but on the cliff of the northern side of the elevated core of the peninsula, and over-looking the great reach of the

contended that this name-form is a vestige of the Danes, and, on this North Devon coast, the Danes might quite as likely have left their mark, as the Mercians. But one of them, "Martinhoe," is formed by the addition of "-hoe" to the christian dedication of the church: not likely, therefore, to have been named by a pagan colony. Another place, in East Devon, not many miles from the Mercian Widworthy-St. Cuthbert already mentioned, (p. 125), called "Pinhoe," is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1001, to have been burnt *by* the Danes in revenge of a Saxon defeat. Would this revenge have fallen upon their own countrymen? Also, close to the South Devon dedication of St. Werburgh (p. 121), at Wembury, before mentioned, are two examples of this name-form. One, the well-known "Hoe," of Plymouth; another, the village of "Hooe," in the promontory itself, where Wembury stands. Again, we have seen above that this very "regio," in Kent, which now engages us, was so named "Hogh" so early as A.D. 738. Very early for the Danes. Add to this: contemporary with the first appearance of the Danes in Northumbria, at Lindisfarne, there was already a place called "Billingahoh," now "Billing*ham*," near Stockton.

It is, therefore, evident that "-hoe" was here before the Danes, and can be no other than an Anglian peculiarity. It is, therefore, an additional evidence, and very strong confirmation, of what has been already said of the great Mercian descent upon Devon, that this Anglianism is found strewed in the very path of it.

It will presently be seen that, besides Simeon of Durham, and other early chroniclers, both Somner and Camden took it for granted that "-hoe" is only another form, or dialect of "-ham." It is however not unlikely, that, as in many other cases, a second mark of names "-haw" or "-haugh," said to be Danish, has been concurrent with and undistinguished from this.

[1] Cod. Dip., No. LXXXV.

[2] *Ib.*

estuary of the Thames, and the broad alluvial level embraced by it, is the town of "Cliffe;" of which the church has the dedication St. Helen. The two churches are just four miles apart. There are several other churches now in the peninsula, but the others have been attributed to these two, of St. Werburgh and St. Helen, as their mother churches, of which the other parishes are ancient offshoots or chapelries.

Among the most famous names of places in England, during the long aggressive reigns of Æthelbald and Offa, when, for the largest part of the eighth century, the other kingdoms were more or less threatened with the supremacy of Mercia, was that of a place called Cloveshoe or Clovesham.[1] Its celebrity has been, no doubt, much enhanced by its intimate connection with the Church History of that period; but it has shared, with many of the names of the localities of the most important events of the history of those times, in a great deal of uncertainty and controversy as to the actual place.

Few monuments of those ages are preserved to us in such multitude as names of places, and in such apparent entireness; but few are of such uncertain and doubtful appropriation. Although we are living in the midst of the scenes of the greatest events of our early history; yet one of the most surprising circumstances is, that of the number of the names of the places that have remained almost unaltered, during the interval of twelve centuries, so few of them can, with any degree of certainty, be identified: so that, although a Gazetteer or Index Locorum of those times would be a most valuable help, it would be the most difficult to compile; and, judging from past attempts at contributions to it, impossible to be done with any reasonable approach to trustworthiness. The visible monuments have almost entirely been swept from off the face of the earth. Towns, then of importance and even magnitude, if not now entirely subject to the plough, are only represented by the merest villages; and religious institutions have had their identity drowned

[1] First mentioned by Beda as "Clofeshoch," and in K. Alfred's translation "Clofeshooh."

by the importation of later monastic orders; and generally by more catholic, but less national or local, dedications. The names of the places, in some few cases identified by immemorial traditions, are often the only indications of the whereabouts of some of the greatest events; but even the names themselves are obscured by the different methods, used in that age and in ours, of distinguishing them from other similar names; and the traditions, which should have preserved them, are interrupted by the long interval, between the events themselves, and the time at which the names first come again into our sight.

But this Clovesho = Clofeshoum = or Clobesham[1] had necessarily retained its hold upon the public memory of the ages from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries, from the importance to the Church of the great acts of councils, both royal and pontifical, there held; and the memory or tradition of the National Church, was, of all others, the most vivid and tenacious of any, during that long period: perhaps the only one which may be said to have bridged it, unbroken by interruptions, such as dynastic revolutions. When the tradition of the actual whereabouts of this famous place comes first into our view, we find it attached to the "Hoo" of Kent above described, and to the place called "Cliffe" there situated. The name now current is "Cliffe-at-Hoo," and this appears to have been the form in which it came to Camden's knowledge: at any rate, in the earlier editions of Britannia (1587), he mentions this place as "Cliues at Ho Bedæ dictum."

There is, however, extant a still earlier record, that the tradition had not yet been doubted by the learned. The Rev. Prebendary Earle, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, has most judiciously preserved some marginal notes of the 16th century, that he found in that MS. of the Saxon Chronicle,[2] which he distinguishes as "C.;" which notes he considers to be "written in an Elizabethan hand:" but as will be presently seen they must have been of the reign of Henry VIII. One of these is written in the margin against one of the occurrences of the name "Clofes hoo" in the Chronicle, and reads "doctor Hethe's benyffyce;" and

[1] See Cod. Dip. *passim*, for other varieties of the name.

[2] Two S. Chronicles, Oxford, 1565.

Mr. Earle asks, "where may Dr. Hethe's benefice have been?"[1] To this question of the Professor's, two more may be added: Who was Dr. Hethe? And who was—evidently his intimate acquaintance—the writer of the marginal notes to the Chronicle?

The answers to these three questions will shew what sort of men these were whom we find in possession of this historical tradition concerning the actual place of those famous synods; and who, long before any question about it had been raised, by the incipient critical scepticism of the 17th century, out of fancied probabilities, are here seen treating it as an undoubted fact. These answers will also shew what advantages, of time and local associations, they had for judgment of the fact.

The benefice, then, was the Rectory of the Cliffe above mentioned, situated in the peninsula, or Hoo, north of Rochester. This living was held, from 1543 to 1548, by Dr. Nicholas Heath:

[1] It is to be regretted that editors of ancient texts, have not more generally extended their care to the preservation of marginal and other adventitious notes, even when they are of comparatively much later date than the texts, which of course are their chief care. Such valuable fragments are in imminent peril at the present day; for whenever a new discovery of ancient books or records is now brought to the notice of the most distinguished experts, the very first piece of advice is that they shall be "cleaned," "repaired," and "skilfully" rebound. See, among others, examples in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *passim*. Why the binding, and even the *status quo* itself, is a part of the essence of such things, as monuments. But manuscripts, with far less excuse, are following the churches on the broad way to refaction, as it may be mildly called.

When the fanciers of books, especially in London, as well as experts in manuscripts, make a fortunate acquisition of anything, both fine and unique; after the usual notes of admiration, such as "truly marvellous," etc., they go on to say, "but it deserves a better jacket." And at once order it to be stripped of its monumental covering, and scoured of the autumnal tints of many ages; its pedigree, contained in ancient shelf-marks, and autographs, is discarded; often valuable notarial records of events that have for safety, like monuments in churches, been entered on the covers and fly-leaves, are lost; and it is finally converted into a monument of nineteenth century skill in smooth morocco, "antique style," &c. All that is really wanted, however, is either a box-case, or other apparatus for protection. Keep charters or papers nearly as you do Bank of England Notes. These are never bound for safe-keeping. On the outsides of these unattached bindings, or other provisions for safe-keeping, can be lavished whatever munificence, or luxury of modern art, may be thought to be a sufficient tribute of admiration to the object contained.

it was, therefore, during these years that the marginal notes were written. He was afterwards Bishop of Rochester, and of Worcester, and Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor; and during the reign of Henry VIII, and to the accession of Elizabeth, took leading parts in most affairs, both in Church and State. Wood calls him "a most wise and learned Man, of great Policy, and of as great Integrity."

As to Dr. Heath's friend, the writer of the marginal notes, there can be no doubt that he was Dr. Nicholas Wotton: one of the small knot of revivers of Anglo-Saxon literature, and of those, named by Mr. Earle,[1] as a few persons who then had the handling of Saxon MSS. It is found that the long active and distinguished career, of each of these two men, ran both in the same groove:—through the same period, in the same rank and line of affairs, and locally together.[2] They were both part authors of the well-known Institution of a Christian Man, 1537. Wotton was the first Dean of Canterbury, and so continued for more than twenty-five years: also Dean of York. During two intervals he administered, by commission, the Province of Canterbury; and was named, along with Parker, as successor to that Primacy.

These are the two men, who are first found in possession of the historical tradition, that the famous place where the Mercian kings, with the Archbishops, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Mercian and other Bishops, held their councils; the acts of which must, in all ages, have been most conspicuous to learned English Canonists, was no other than this very Cliffe-at-Hoo; and it is evident, from the directness of the marginal note, that they held it as an unquestioned fact. So, about fifty years afterwards, when he published Britannia, it was as we have seen, also without reserve, accepted by Camden.[3] Up to this time the tradition—not among men who accept Geoffrey of Monmouth's stories and the like, but among the learned—was yet undisturbed. But twenty years later we find Camden wavering; influenced only by speculations on the

[1] Introd. lxviii.

[2] See Strype's Works *passim*, where above 100 transactions of Heath are referred to, and above 50 of Wotton.

[3] Edn. 1587, p. 196.

nature of the district, and a then prevalent distorted perspective of the remote historical circumstances of the time concerned. In the edition of Britannia, which received his latest revision,[1] he qualifies his former statement, by saying that he no longer dares to affirm, as others do, whether or not the Cliffe in the little country called Ho, may be the "Cliues at Ho," so celebrated in the infancy of the Anglican Church; because the place seems not to be a convenient one for holding the Synod; and that the actual place seems to have been within the kingdom of Mercia, rather than Kent. From that time to this present day the place, indicated by this name, has ranked among the most disputed and unsettled questions of early English topography.

It also happened, that Camden, when treating of Berkshire, had quoted from the Chronicle of Abingdon, a passage which set forth, that, before the abbey was founded at, or removed to, that place, its name had been "Sheouesham," and was a royal residence. This name, thus brought forward by Camden, struck the fancy of Somner the learned compiler of the earliest Anglo-Saxon Dictionary,[2] who, collating it with Camden's hesitation at the Cliffe-at-Hoo tradition, thought he saw in "Sheouesham" a scriptorial erroneous variation of "Clouesho or -ham;" Abingdon being, in accordance with the conception of the greater constancy of the frontiers of the "Heptarchy" then prevalent, more likely to be the place of councils, at which the Mercian kings so often presided. And this seemed to be the more likely; because the Abingdon Chronicle also said, that Abingdon had hitherto been a royal residence, when the abbey was founded, from which it got its new name. The Abingdon Chronicle is, of course, good for its proper uses, but where it says that "Scouescham civitas" had been a "sedes regia," although the name has an English colouring, it is evidently speaking of British or ante-Saxon times. If a royal residence during the reign of Æthelbald, it must have been of the West Saxons, and not of the Mercians. It could not, therefore, have been the Cloveshoe where Æthelbald presided.

If this liberty of interpretation should be permitted, it is

[1] 1607, folio. [2] Oxon, 1659.

plain that it would be enough to shake almost any recorded name. Indeed another example of its use, if also tolerated, would reverse the one itself that had been proposed: would, if the other was enough to carry it to Abingdon, be strong enough to bring it back again to Hoo. In the charter, dated A.D. 738,[1] four years before the earliest recorded Cloveshoe Council, a piece of land is called "Andscohesham." This is certainly within the very Hoo district itself, which is the site of the Cloveshoe of the tradition; being described as "in regione quæ uocatur Hohg." Mr. Kemble prints the charter from the Textus Roffensis, but omits the title or endorsement that fixes the very spot in the Hoo that it refers to. This is, however, preserved in Monasticon Anglicanum:[2] "De Stokes, que antiquitus vocabatur Andscohesham;" and Stoke is now a parish in the Hoo, and close to Cliffe. There can be no doubt that the "And-" stands for, or is a corrupt reading of, "æd-" or the preposition "æt,-" so continually carried, along with vernacular Anglo-Saxon names, into Latin documents; and the name of this "Scohesham" of the Kentish Hoo would thus be practically identical with that of the "Scheouesham"—also written "Seuekesham"[3]—the alleged ancient name of Abingdon. Not that it is intended here to say that "Andscohesham" is a corruption of "Clovesham," although it would have been just as reasonable as Somner's inference; but that Somner's conjecture for removing the place, might be retorted by one equally efficient to bring it back again. But even this might be worth farther scrutiny: for if this identity, of "Andscohesham" and "Clovesham," should prove to be the case, the ancient controversy would be determined at once, without the further trouble here being bestowed. This Andscohesham or Stoke is close also to Hoo-St.-Werburgh, and probably identical with "Godgeocesham," the place where "Eammundus rex," or Eahlmund (= Alemund, father of Egbert of Wessex) was living, when he added his form of approval to a gift,[4] of land at Islingham also close adjoining, by his co-rex of Kent, Sigered, to Eardwulf Bishop of Rochester, (A.D. 759-765.)

[1] Cod. Dip., No. LXXXV.
[2] Rochester, Num. IV.
[3] Chron. of Abingdon.
[4] Cod. D., No. CXIV.

The likeness of the name Clovesho and Cliff-at-Hoo, is not of a sort likely to suggest identity, except first prompted externally, such as by an actual independent tradition; but after having been thus brought together by external evidence, the structure of the old name can thoroughly justify the identity.

But, however slender may have been this original philological cause of disturbance, it served to carry the question, of the actual place, out into the expansive region of conjecture; where it has been ever since rolling and rebounding, from one end of the land to the other, from that time to this. Every succeeding writer treating the matter as if it had been commissioned to him to choose the place of the synods, according to his own views of the fitness of things. Bishop Gibson first accepted Somner's conjecture, and so adopting Abingdon, concludes that "no sane man," who admits the authority of the Abingdon Chronicle, "can stick at it:"[1] the Abingdon Chronicle having never said it except through Somner's distortion. Smith's gloss, on the name in Beda is, "Vulgo Cliff, juxta Hrofes caester." But he continues, in a note, that Somner's opinion in preferring Abingdon seems not unworthy of observation. He recites Camden, but concludes, "Sed in his nihil ultra conjecturam, & illam certe valde fluctuantem."[2] A conclusion which is even prophetic. In Dr. Geo. Smith's map to Beda it is, however, placed at Abingdon. Smith's note is transcribed as it stands by Wilkins;[3] and again by Sir T. D. Hardy.[4]

Capt. John Stevens, in a note in his translation of Bede, (A.D. 1723,) says, as to the true place being Cliffe, "Of this opinion are the two great antiquarians, Spelman and Talbot, to which Lambard likewise gives in, though with caution." This must be Dr. Robert Talbot, Canon of Norwich, another early Saxon scholar, reign Henry VIII., who left transcripts of charters of Abingdon,[5] and is, therefore, another early learned witness of the tradition. Spelman's interpretation is "Cloveshoviæ (vulgo

[1] Chron. Sax. Oxon. 1692. [2] Baeda H. E., cura Jo. Smith, Cant. 722, p. 1748. [3] Concilia, I., 161. [4] Monumenta Hist. Brit.
[5] Tanner Bibl. Brit., p. 703.

Clyff)."[1] The Rev. Joseph Stevenson[2] recites the option of Cliffe and Abingdon. Of the church historians, Fuller remonstrates against Camden's doubts, with his usual moderation. Collier merely calls it "Clovesho, or Clyff, near Rochester."

By this time the Abingdon speculation had become strong enough to carry double: to be able to be called in to the help of other theories, on outside matters. The ingenious Welsh philologer, William Baxter,[3] gets from it an offspring *ergo*. He makes Abingdon the "Caleva Attrebatum," *because* it had been "Clovesho:" upon which, by a sort of "To-my-love and from-my-love" formula, Dr. W. Thomas[4] completes the symmetry of a logical circle, by citing "Calleva Attrebatum" as evidence that Cloveshoe is near Henley-on-Thames, then thought to be Calleva.

R. Gough, in Additions to Camden, leaves it at Abingdon on Bp. Gibson's argument: and, throughout the eighteenth century, Abingdon seems to have been favoured; the writers being much given to copy each other. Dr. Lingard, 1803, quoting Capt. Stevens's translation of Bede, says "probably Abingdon," and so also puts it in his Anglo-Saxon map; but Capt. Stevens had only quoted both views, without adopting either.

The later editors of the Saxon Chronicle, Dr. Ingram and Mr. Thorpe, return to the tradition, contenting themselves with the simple gloss "Cliff-at-Hoo, Kent," "Cliff near Rochester." Miss Gurney, however, prudently says, "Cliff in Kent, or Abingdon." Professor Earle gives the valuable note and question about Dr. Heath, before mentioned, but leaves the main question, of the place, open. On the other hand, the Dictionaries, since Somner: Lye says "fortasse Abbingdon," and Dr. Bosworth follows with "perhaps Abingdon," quoting both Somner and Lye.

But the nineteenth century took a fresh stride away from the start of the seventeenth. Whilst accepting from the eighteenth the inheritance of the doubt, it next renounced the claim itself for which the doubt had been raised. It is no longer Abingdon, but wherever it may be thought likely—Dr. Lappenberg[5] places it in Oxfordshire;

[1] Concilia, 1639, p. 242. [2] Beda, 1838, p. 200. [3] Gloss. Ant. Brit., 1733. [4] Account of Worc. Cath., 1736, p. 120. [5] A.S.K., I 225.

Mr. N.E.S.A. Hamilton[1] "co. Berks." Mr. Kemble more boldly carries it to "the hundred of Westminster, and county of Gloucester, perhaps near Tewksbury."[2] Next year,[3] he more firmly says "Doubts have been lavished upon the situation of this place, which I do not share," and concludes that it was "not far from Deerhurst, Tewksbury, and Bishop's Cleeve; not at all improbably in Tewksbury itself, which may have been called Clofeshoas, before the erection of a noble abbey at a later period gave it the name it now bears."

Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs[4] accept the objections of their forerunners against Cliff-at-Hoo, thinking that this place "rests solely on the resemblance of the name." They say of the Abingdon = Sheovesham theory, that it is also "the merest conjecture." They also reject Mr. Kemble's Tewkesbury as founded on a mistaken identity of Westminster hundred with another place sometimes called "Westminster," in the Mercian charters, (A.D. 804-824). This is, indeed, Westbury-on-Trym. But why was the minster there called "west," and where was the minster that was east of it? At an earlier date (A.D. 794) it had already got its present name, "Uuestburg." Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs leave the question of the true place of Cloveshoe as they find it, neither endorsing the original tradition, nor indulging in the freedom of choice which had been established for them. In another work,[5] however, Mr. Haddan has said, "On the locality of Cloveshoo itself, unfortunately, we can throw no more light than may be contained in the observation, that St. Boniface invariably styles the English synod, 'Synodus *Londinensis*;' and that . . . . . the immediate vicinity of that city—in all other respects the most probable of all localities—seems consequently the place where antiquarians must hunt for traces of the lost Cloveshoo." How far Cliffe, situated near the mouth of the Thames, may satisfy or contradict the "Londinensis" of S. Bonifatius must be left to be judged. Dean Hook recites his fore-goers, but not quite understanding them:—"Where Cloveshoo was it is impossible to say,

[1] Will. Malm., G.P. 1870. [2] Cod. Dip., 1848. [3] Saxons in E., 1849, I, 191. The *name* of Tewkesbury is, however, appparently older than even this ancient monastery. [4] Councils, Vol. III., Oxf., 1871, p. 122. [5] Remains, p. 326.

some antiquarians placing it at Cliff-at-Hoo, in Kent; some in the neighbourhood of Rochester; others contending for Abingdon; others again for Tewkesbury."[1] But Cliff-at-Hoo in Kent *is* in the *near* neighbourhood of Rochester. The present state of the question, therefore, seems to be, that it is given up as hopeless.

But the most strenuous renunciator of the Kentish tradition, in favour of the Berkshire conjecture, was a learned and distinguished native of the Kentish locality itself: the Rev. John Johnson. He is usually reckoned among the learned and suffering body of the Nonjurors, but, by personal merits and some concessions, he appears to have escaped their political ordeal; having retained his preferments throughout a long life. He is commonly distinguished, from the other Johnsons of literature, as "Johnson of Cranbrook." His remarks deserve all the more careful consideration, because he was born at Frindsbury, immediately adjoining Cliffe, and the intermediate parish between it and Rochester. At Frindsbury, in fact, was the "Aeslingham" of the Textus Roffensis, in one of the charters that concern the Hoo and the locality now in question. He printed a Collection of Canons of the English Church, in 1720.[2] In his preface and notes to the Synod at which was ratified the submission of the usurped primacy of Lichfield to that of Canterbury, A.D. 803, which is one of those held at "clofeshoas;"[3] he oddly brings it, as an argument that Abingdon was the place, that the triumphant Archbishop of Canterbury "was willing to meet" his reconciled insubordinant rival, half way between Lichfield and Canterbury. Converting what is a very strong presumption against Abingdon, into an act of extreme humility on the part of the Archbishop. The learned writer must have felt the difficulty, which he thus strove so hard to liquidate into a virtue. After this, he goes on to allege that "there is not a more unhealthy spot in the whole province, I may say in all Christendom," than this district of the Hoo With deference, however, to such a writer, and a native of the spot, this account of it does, to a mere visitor, seem to be exaggerated. The Gads-

[1] A-B. C., I., 224. [2] New edition, by Rev. J. Baron, Oxford, 1850.
[3] C.D. CLXXXV.

Hill, of Falstaff, will bring the neighbourhood to the remembrance of many; and it has become more widely known of late years, by the last residence of another great master of humour and fiction, which is less than four miles from the church of Cliffe, and the outlook from which would be about identical with that from any Mercian Villa Regia that may have existed here. An ungrateful remembrance of the inflictions of schoolmasters, or other childish griefs, is often observed to haunt the later career of those to whose distinguished position they may have contributed.

In his "Addenda," Johnson afterwards says, "I find some worthy gentlemen still of opinion, that Cliff.....was not unhealthy in the age of the Councils:" and he truly quotes charters from the Textus Roffensis, to show that the northern marshes, or levels, then already existed; and he urges that it "was, therefore, altogether unfit for a stated place of synod." That "As Cliff in Hoo was never a place of great note itself, so it lies, and ever did lie, out of the road to any place of note;" and he goes on to recite Somner and Camden's plea of the greater likelihood of Abingdon, for synods limited to the times of Mercian domination.

But the marshes are not in question, they are but an appendage to the Hoo. This peninsula is formed of a large fragment of the chalk at the eastern end of the North Kentish downs, called by geologists an "inlier" into the Thames basin; upon the heights, and in the valleys, of which the places concerned in this enquiry were situated. The marshes are a broad fringe of level pasture land,[1] advanced into the Thames estuary, beyond its north chalk cliff. In Kent the word "marsh" signifies the same as "more" in Somersetshire: which, although even Dr. Jamieson confounds the two, is a totally different word and thing, from the "muir," or "moor," for waste lands of a highland character. It is to such land as this that we owe the dairies of Cheddar; and if this objection should be good, Glastonbury and Wells, not to mention Ely and Croyland, must resign their venerable places in history. A very similar projection of alluvial level pasture extends

[1] "Bercaria" is a synonym for the East Marsh at Cliffe.—Monasticon Angl. V.I., p. 177, No. 52.

from Henbury and Shirehampton to the Bristol Channel, without disparagement of their salubrity. Mr. Johnson, having suffered much in health by a residence of a year or two at Appledore, in Kent, obtained the vicarage of Cranbrook, where he lived for eighteen years. It is likely that he was sensitive of climatal influences, and shy of those breezes that reach this island after passing over the great plains of central Europe: a tenderness, which neither Æthelbald nor Offa can be supposed to have shared with him.

It is plain, however, that this broad alluvial margin, extending from the northern edge of the heights, which are the substantial constituents of the Hoo peninsula, already existed, A.D. 779, at least a very large extent of it; for the first charter, so dated,[1] describes it as then "habentem quasi quinquaginta iugerum." In a later charter, A.D. 789,[2] the name of the projecting level appears as "Scaga."[3] It must already have become land of value to be granted in these charters; and its identity is certain from the limits—Yantlet ("Jaenlade") water to "Bromgeheg," now "Bromey," on the higher land at Cooling. Does not the word "jugeru," used in the charter, indicate that this "marsh" was already cultivated or pasture land? How it had been originally caused is, however, not hard to discern. It is, evidently, a large portion of the delta of the Thames, intercepted by the confluence of the other great river, the Medway, and thrown back behind the chalk promontory of the Hoo. Inside, and westward of this deposit, the tidal estuary makes a bold reach southward; sweeping the western side of this level, and approaching the heights, so as, at Cliffe, Higham, and Chalk, to leave only a comparatively narrow fringe of level; and it is on the heights at the southern bend of this reach, that are situated these three villages, which will presently be found, it is thought, to be interesting to us.

As to the most substantial objection, which of course has continued to be a constantly recurring ingredient of this contro-

[1] Cod. D. CXXXV. [2] Cod. D. CLVII.

[3] See Cleasby and Vigfusson, v. "Skaga." The northern pagans, afterwards such pests of Rochester, must have already landed here.

versy, that the place of the synods must have been within the kingdom of Mercia, it seems a little oblique of the mark aimed at. They were royal councils, and these must be expected to have followed the presence of the king and his court, as was the case in much later times than those now under consideration. Most of the remaining records of these synods at Cloveshoe, and of the other national ones during the same period, show the king to have presided; and it is true that it is the Mercian King, who is so found, during both of the long reigns of Æthelbald and Offa; and throughout the time of the domination of the Mercians in Kent. The policy of the Mercian aggressors, during their long continued contention for empire, to grasp the great estuaries of the island, has already been referred to, and a glance at sheets I. and VI. of the Ordinance survey will show how desirable was this Chersonesus for the head quarters of a power, which made a chief point of the possession of the Thames, and its only less valuable and smaller sister, the Medway. The opposite coast of the East Saxons had already, for several reigns, been subjected to Mercia. A.D. 704, Suebræd, the regulus of the East Saxons, could not grant lands at Twickenham, then in Essex, but "in prouincia quæ nuncupatur middelseaxan," to Waldhere, Bishop of London, except "cum licentia Æthelredi regis" of Mercia.[1] Kent, less fortunate, was still contended for by both Wessex and Mercia, as well as by Sussex, and by all three it was successively ravaged; and it even looks as if the three contending invaders maintained, as clients, rival pretenders, as kings of the parts of Kent at the time under their power. The division of Kent into Lathes may be a so-to-speak fossil, or rather an archaic autograph upon the surface of the county, of this state of it. It is, however, certain that Mercia ultimately made good a permanent domination of Kent; and the kings of Kent acknowledged that supremacy in their government, by merely counter-subscribing the acts of the kings of Mercia.[2]

The mass of chalk, of which the body of the Hoo consists, is said to pass under the Thames; and a small continuation of it re-

[1] Cod. D., No. LII.

[2] For example, Cod. D. No. CXI., which grants lands in the Hoo itself, viz.: Islingham in Frindsbury, adjoining Cliffe, to Rochester Cathedral.

appears on the Essex side, directly opposite Cliffe and Higham and Chalk, at East Tilbury ; and having continued four miles westward, behind the marsh marked by Tilbury Fort, dies out at Purfleet.[1] It forms an elevated promontory at East Tilbury, penetrating the levels on that side to the river. The present chief traject of the river is about three miles westward, from Gravesend to the fort: but the chalk promontory is the terminus of an ancient straight chain of roads, which, although in some places interrupted by later breaks and divergencies, indicates a traffic of ages, from this terminus on the river, in a north-western direction, striking the Iknield Street at Brentwood, and apparently afterwards still continuing the same line: probably to Watling Street; any rate to the heart of the Mercian dominions: say, to Hertford, if you like.

There are various other substantial evidences of great ancient intercourse of Essex with the Hoo of Kent, by a trajectus at this place, between East Tilbury and Higham ; and Higham is only five miles from Rochester bridge, by which the Watling Street entered that city. Morant says, of the manor of Southall in East Tilbury, "This estate goes now to the repair of Rochester bridge: when and by whom given we do not find."[2] He also mentions the "famous Higham Causeway" in connection with Tilbury.[3] Until the reign of Stephen, the church at Higham had belonged to the Abbot and Convents of St. John, Colchester.[4] The importance of this Essex traject to the kingdoms north of the Thames, when the domination of Mercia in Essex and Kent was beginning, may be inferred from the fact that one of the two colleges, or capitular churches, founded by Cedda, A.D. 653, in Essex, was at Tilbury.[5] There is a place called Chadwell by West Tilbury. Some years later, A.D. 676, when Æthelred of Mercia first devastated Kent, it is evident that he used this passage; for the destruction of Rochester, five miles south of Higham and Cliffe, is the only one of his exploits, on that expedition, specified by name.[6] So late as A.D. 1203, Giraldus Cambrensis passed from Kent to Essex by Tilbury. These incidents, connecting Tilbury and Higham, may

[1] Geol. Surv. of E. & W., vol. IV., London Basin, 1872, pp. 34, 35.
[2] H. of Essex, I., 235. [3] P. 236. [4] Mon. Anglic. Lillechurch (alias Higham), Nos. IV. and V. [5] Beda, H. E. III., 22. [6] Beda, H. E., IV., 12,

qualify the surprise that has hitherto troubled church historians at finding that "Clofeshoch," at so early a date as A.D. 673, was appointed, at "Herutford," as the place for future councils, even if Herutford had been Hertford, as some say.

The conclusion that the line of approach, and of the first invasion of Kent by the Mercians, was by a passage from the Essex coast to Higham or Cliffe; and that the peninsula of Hoo, adjoining Rochester, had then and long after been the basis of their domination of that kingdom; had been already formed, from what has been already said. And it was at this point, that it was thought worth while to see what the chief county historians say about the two termini of the trajectus.

This is Hasted's statement:—

"*Plautius*, the *Roman* General under the *Emperor Claudius*, in the year of Christ, 43, is said to have passed the river *Thames* from *Essex* into *Kent*, near the mouth of it, with his army, in pursuit of the flying *Britons* who being acquainted with the firm and fordable places of it passed it easily. (Dion. Cass, lib. lx.) The place of this passage is, by many, supposed to have been from *East Tilbury*, in *Essex*, across the river to *Higham*. (By Dr. Thorpe, Dr. Plott, and others.) Between these places there was a *ferry* on the river for many ages after, the usual method of intercourse between the two counties of Kent and Essex for all these parts, and it continued so till the dissolution of the abbey here; before which time Higham was likewise the place for shipping and unshipping corn and goods in great quantities from this part of the country, to and from *London* and elsewhere. The probability of this having been a frequented ford or passage in the time of the *Romans*, is strengthened by the visible remains of a raised causeway or road, near 30 feet wide, leading from the *Thames* side through the marshes by *Higham southward* to this *Ridgway* above mentioned, and thence across the *London* highroad on *Gads-hill* to *Shorne-ridgway*, about half a-mile beyond which adjoins the *Roman Watling-street*

road near the entrance into *Cobham-park*. In the pleas of the crown in the 21st year of K. Edward I., the *Prioress* of the nunnery of *Higham* was found liable to maintain a bridge and causeway that led from *Higham* down to the river *Thames*, in order to give the better and easier passage to such as would ferry from thence into Essex."[1]

It may be added that the Hoo peninsula has other marks of having been, at much earlier times, a district of great transit. There is, perhaps, no other part of England, of so small an extent, which has so many and clustered examples of "Street" in names of secluded spots—including the almost ubiquitous "Silver Street"[2]—quite disengaged from those that follow the line itself of Watling-street. Yet Mr. Johnson of Cranbrook goes on to say, "As Cliffe in Hoo was never a place of note itself, so it lies, and ever did lie, out of the road to any place of note." It is believed that he has greatly under-rated the substantial results of such a dynastic change as we are now considering; followed, for a thousand years, by its sequential changes on the material surface of the earth.

At all events, this was, evidently, the earliest line of approach, by which Mercia, with its contingents, the other Anglian nations and the East Saxons, whom it had either subdued or otherwise allied, invaded Kent; and this continued to be its chief or only access for some years. A single glance, at the geography of the Hoo, will show the value of such an advanced peninsula, as the basis of such an incursion upon the centre of Kent; and as the stronghold from which the subjection of that kingdom could be maintained. We have other means of knowing that it was probably, at least, thirty years before a second or optional approach was secured by way of the east of Kent. This second access must have been a much coveted one, and when it came into hand must have been of great value; particularly in regard to the occasional, or at least frequent, royal residence already established at the Hoo. The Watling Street, the greatest and most frequented of

[1] Hist. Kent, I., p. 528.

[2] See Dr. J. H. Pring, in the Somerset Arch. Soc.

all the highways then existing, led from the very heart of Mercia, in a direct line through Middlesex, to the very isthmus of the peninsula itself. Although Kent had been already invaded, A.D. 676, yet so late as A.D. 695,[1] London remained subject to Essex; but, as we have already seen, only nine years afterwards Twickenham, in the province called "Middelseaxan," had become subject to Mercia.

Some of our most learned historians describe the "Middle Saxons" as a very small people, forming a part of the East Saxons; but they are obliged to confess that they find very little to say about them. It is believed that there never was a separate people called Middle Saxons. They have been created out of a snatched analogy, of the mere name "Middlesex," with "Essex," "Sussex," and "Wessex." There can be little doubt that Middlesex represents the original civitas, or territory, of the local government, of its urbs or burgh of London, the capital of the kingdom of Essex. Like other great commercial seaports or staples, this already great mart had maintained much of the condition of a free city; and, in passing, along with its territory from Essex to the ascendant power of Mercia, it may not have been by conquest, but by a voluntary exercise of that instinct, to unite in the fortunes of an advancing supremacy, which is often associated with, and perhaps closely allied to, commercial habits. At all events, it is at this time that the name, Middlesex, first comes to light;[2] and it is believed that instead of being, like the names of the Saxon nations, formed by the addition of an adjective; the "middle" of this newer name is a preposition, and that it means, that Anglian acquisition which had now thrust itself *between* the East Saxons and the South and West Saxons. The Anglo-Saxon Dictionaries produce an example, from one of the glossaries of Ælfric, of "Middel-gesculdru" = the space *between* the shoulders.

But although, in the existing records of the series of Councils and Synods that were held during the ascendancy of Mercia, and often presided over by the Mercian kings in person, the name of

[1] Cod. Dip., No. XXXVIII.

[2] One copy of the A.-S. Chronicle has "Middelseaxe" as early as A.D. 653, the other four testify this to be miswritten for "Middelengle."

Cloveshoe is frequent, as the place of convention ; other places, as "Cealchythe" and "Acle," are also frequent and continuous. And the names of the councillors, who sign the acts as witnesses, have a certain current identity, with only such changes as may be expected by lapse of time, rather than of change of the region where the assemblies had been convened. After the king, usually follows the Archbishop of Canterbury ; then the Bishop of Lichfield, followed by the other Mercian Bishops ; and then of the other subject kingdoms.

These two places, Cealchythe and Acle, have been as great puzzles to enquirers as Clovesho itself ; and they also have been placed in very distant regions ; the sounds of their names being apparently thought to be the only consideration. Cealchythe was thought by Archbishop Parker to be in Northumbria ; but Alford said Chelsea ; Spelman that it was within the kingdom of Mercia.[1] Gibson suggests Culcheth in Lancashire, as although in Northumbria, not far from Mercia. Miss Gurney also says "Perhaps Kilcheth on the southern border of Lancashire." Dr. W. Thomas gives it to Henley-on-Thames, partly because he considered it "near" Cloveshoe ; Wilkins nor Kemble make any venture ; others, adopted by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs, and, as far as the name alone would have settled it, with a very great deal of apparent reason, would have placed it at Chelsea. The ancient forms of the name of Chelsea, of which examples are by no means scarce, seem all directly to lead up to an identity with that of the councils. One of these, of the baptism, A.D. 1448, of John, son of Richard, Duke of York, recorded in Will. Wyrcester's Anecdota, is, for example, at "Chelchiethe." But the name of the council seems to resolve itself into "Chalk-hythe," and there is no chalk at Chelsea. But even this has been got over by taking the first portion of "Chelsey" for "chesil" or gravel ; and this favours the ancient forms of Chelsea = Chelchythe, rather more than it does the variations in the name of the council ; which on the whole lean towards "chalk" or "Chalkhythe." Dr. Ingram[2] adopts "Challock, or Chalk, in Kent ;" and Mr. Thorpe repeats that suggestion, with the addition of a "?"

[1] Conc. pp. 291, 313, 314. [2] A. Sax. Chron.

As to this "Chalk," it is also in the district of the Hoo, and is the adjoining parish westward of Higham; on the same chalk ridge, whereon both Higham and Cliff-at-Hoo are situated. The village is two miles west of Higham church, and all three are practically the same place, within a space of four miles; of which the ancient trajectus above mentioned is at the centre. The face of the cliff, upon which Cliffe stands, is still quarried for chalk, which is shipped in a small creek that runs up to the cliff. It will at once come to mind, how constantly such wharfs are called "hythe," throughout the navigable portion of the Thames; and how frequently that word forms a part of the names of them. That river has, indeed, almost—not quite—a monopoly of this name-form. But the Ordnance Surveyors[1] show an eastward detachment of Chalk parish, within half a mile of Higham church, and close to that point of the shore which would have been the hythe of the traject. There can be little doubt that this detachment is a survival of the "Chalkhythe" at which some of the councils were dated, whilst others were at Cliffe-at-Hoo adjoining. An endorsed confirmation,[2] under Coenulf, has the formula, "in synodali conciliabulo *juxta* locum qui dicitur caelichyth."

Another frequent name, of the place of convention of some of this series of councils during Mercian ascendancy, is "Acle" or "Acleah," which has been as great a puzzle as the others. This name may be expected to appear in any such modern forms as Oakley, Okeley, Ockley, or Ackley, which are very numerous in nearly every part of England; indeed, wherever the oak has grown: and rather a free use of this wide choice has been made in the attempts to find the place of the councils so dated. The most accepted one seems to be Ockley, south of Dorking, near the confines of Surrey and Sussex; apparently attracted by a battle with the Danes there, A.D. 851. But this happened in later and Wessexian times. Lambarde (about A.D. 1577) thought it likely to be somewhere in the Deanery of Ackley, in Leicestershire: Spelman, in the Bishopric of Durham. Dr. Ingram says, "Oakley in Surrey." Professor Stubbs says of one act of Offa so dated that

[1] 6-inch scale. [2] C.D., No. CXVI.

it "is unquestionably Ockley in Surrey," and affords "a strong presumption that the other councils of the southern province said to be at Acleah, were held at the same place," apparently because the charter before him is a grant to Chertsey. But the substance of these royal grants does not show the place where they were executed. They are the Acts of the Supreme Court of Appeal. Ingram and Thorpe give Ockley, Surrey. Miss Gurney, "Acley, Durham?" Kemble, "Oakley or Ackley, Kent, or Ockley, Surrey," Sir T. D. Hardy says "in Dunelmia;" no doubt adopting Spelman's judgment.

Turning again to the Ordnance Survey,[1] at one mile-and-a-half from the church at Cliff-at-Hoo, and rather nearer to it than Higham church itself, will be seen a building marked "Oakly;" or, in the six-inch scale, two: Oakley and Little Oakley. Reverting to Hasted's account of the parish of Higham,[2] we also find that it contained two manors, Great and Little Okeley; and he quotes the Book of Knight's Fees, K. John, where it is written, "Acle."[3] Oakley lies in the direct way from the ancient traject to Rochester bridge, and has been held liable to repair the fourth pier of it. In Domesday it appears as "Arclei." But the existence of this very place can be realised at a date eight years earlier than the first recorded Synod at Aclea. Mr. Kemble has printed[4] a grant of Offa, dated A.D. 774, to Jaenberht the Archbishop, of a piece of land in a place called "Hehham," now Higham; of which one portion is conterminous with Acleag—"per confinia acleage"—, another part touches "ad colling"—now Cooling with its Castle,—afterwards bounded by "mersctun," since Merston, and other lands "Sc̄i andree," *i.e.* of Rochester Cathedral. This piece of land, although granted by Offa to the Archbishop of Canterbury, is not only situated within the diocese of Rochester, but is immediately surrounded by the demesnes of Rochester Church. From a realization of the above three land-marks of the charter, it is certain that, although Cliffe is not named, the site of the church and town of Cliffe itself, as well as Higham, is included within

[1] Sheet 1. [2] Hist. of Kent, vol. I., p. 526-7.

[3] See also "Willelmus de Cloeville duas partes decime de Acle." (Mon. Angl., vol. I., 169.) [4] Cod. Dip. CXXI.

the land-marks of the grant; and that the granted manor is identical with those parishes, as they have afterwards become. Cooling adjoins the granted land to the east; Acleag, now Oakley, to the south; Merston, is described by Hasted as a forgotten parish, and no longer appears even in his own map of the Hundred, but he identifies the ruined church among the buildings of "Green Farm," close to Gads-hill. From this he represents it to have reached the Shorne Marshes; that is to the Thames shore; forming, therefore, the western boundary of Cliffe and Higham, and including the already mentioned detachment of Chalk parish, and having Acleag named as one of its boundaries.[1]

In this charter of Offa, we see one of the examples of those first separations of land, which afterwards became what we call a parish. What we now call a parish, is not an invention or institution by Archbishop Honorius, or Archbishop Theodore, nor of any individual genius; any more than shires and hundreds were invented by King Alfred. Our parishes are the natural and exigent result of the variety of causes that have planted churches; to the use of which, and to the privileges of the cures vested in them, neighbours have acquired customary or other rights. Territorial parishes are definitions and ratifications of these emergent rights, that pre-existed, as other political results do pre-exist, such confirmations of them. Their multiplication may have been promoted, more or less, by different men in different ages, including our own age. We shall presently see, that it is most likely that Offa founded the church at Cliffe; and this charter no doubt fixes the date of it. Higham must have been separated from it, into another parish, at a later time. The Archbishop of Canterbury continued to be the owner of Cliffe until K. Henry VIII.; and the rectory is still in the gift of the Archbishop, and exempt from Rochester which encompasses

[1] Hasted (vol. I. p. 531.) quotes a charter of Æthelred, A.D. 1001, granting to the Priory of Canterbury "Terram Clofiæ." That is, apparently, regranting to his newly instituted monks, this very piece of land which Offa had earlier granted to the secular church. If so, the orthography "Clofia," points to its identity with "Cloveshoe." The nature of the document quoted by Hasted, may be gathered from a contemporary one of the same kind, printed in the Monasticon. Vol. I. p. 99. No. V.

it. As Johnson of Cranbrook himself admits, "It is indeed a parish most singularly exempt; for the incumbent is the Archbishop's immediate surrogate."

But there is a much later Mercian council, which deserves to be noticed; not for its intrinsic importance, but on account of the place from which it is dated.[1] It is a sale of two bits of land at Canterbury to the Archbishop, A.D. 823, by Ceoluulf, "rex merciorum seu etiam cantwariorum." The price seems to have been, a pot of gold and silver money, by estimation five pounds and-a-half (or? four and-a-half); more portable and convenient to Ceoluulf under Beornuulf's usurpation of Mercia. This was just when Mercia was waning, and Wessex ascendant. The date is "in uillo regali. qui dicitur werburging wic." It will be remembered what was the business that first called us to the Kentish Hoo: the finding one of our St. Werburgh dedications there.

That this Werburghwick was in the Hoo; will become more likely by comparison with another charter.[2] This is, a grant of a privilege to the Bishop of Rochester, by Æthelbald, A.D. 734, which has an endorsed confirmation, by Beorhtuulf "regi merciorū in uico regali uuerbergeuuic," which endorsement must have been added about A.D. 844. Turn also to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 851 or 853, where it is said that the Heathen men having held their winter in Thanet; in the same year came 350 ships into Thames mouth, and broke Canterbury, and London, and made this same Beorhtuulf King of the Mercians fly with his army, and went south over Thames into Surrey.[3] It is thought more likely that he was at his villa regalis, in the Hoo, than at Tamworth; where however he sometimes is also found.

The truth seems to be, that, when Mercia relapsed into a mere province or Ealdormanship, it still retained its hold in Kent as an appanage. Thus we have seen Ceoluulf at our Werburghwick in the Hoo, A.D. 823; and Beorhtwulf in the same place, A.D. 844, and again, apparently disturbed by the Danes, A.D. 853. In the

[1] Cod. Dip., No. CCXVII. [2] C. D., No. LXXVIII.

[3] There is some difference of this statement among the six texts. Some include London, and some do not.

paper, before referred to, Mr. Rashleigh has given an analytical table of a hoard of about 550 Anglo-Saxon Coins found at or near Gravesend in 1838, which must have been buried so late as A.D. 874-5. Of these 429 are of Burgred king of Mercia A.D. 852-874, and one of Ceoluulf (II.) of Mercia, A.D. 874. Probably the boundary of the latest holding of Mercians in Kent, answers to that of the diocese of Rochester, as it came down to the middle of the present century; somewhat abnormally consisting of only a part of a county. Dioceses were originally identical with civil provinces; and have been dormantly conservative of their boundaries, during those very times when political revolutions have been most active upon those of civil states.

It thus appears, that the three most frequent of the names, from which the series of Mercian synods are dated, can be accounted for as of places practically in the same locality; and that, the one to which tradition, before it had been tampered with by philological evolution, had already directly pointed; and on a piece of land, exceptionally given to Canterbury, encompassed by the lands of Rochester, for a purpose of which the circumstances here adduced are the only explanation and index. It is not inferred that all three names indicate the same building: probably not; for, in a later synod, "ad Clobeham," (A.D. 825)[1] a judgment "prius at Cælchythe" is referred to. But so might, up to our time, a judgment at Westminster, or at Guildhall, be quoted in the Chancellor's Court at Lincoln's Inn; but all three would be at London.

Although the synods of the series are most frequently dated from Cloveshoe, Chalkhythe, and Acleah, other places have one or two each. There is "Berhford," A.D 685, usually placed at Burford, Oxon., for no other reason than the sound of the name, connected with the old prejudice for that neighbourhood as central for Mercia. "Baccanceld," A.D. 798, was certainly in Kent, since there was also a council of the still self-acting king of Kent held there, A.D. 694. Another name "Bregentforda," very doubtfully,

[1] Cod. Dip., No. MXXXIV.

upon no better ground, placed at Brentford. All these deserve to be closely re-considered; and if possible supported by some reason, added to these guesses from the merest outside likeness in the names.

Already, A.D. 680, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, had presided at a general Council of the Bishops of England, said by Ven. Beda to be "in loco qui Saxonico vocabulo *Haethfelth* nominatur." Some have placed this at one of the various Hatfields or Heathfields that may have struck the taste of either; whether in Yorkshire, Herts, Essex, Sussex, or Somerset. But Archbishop Parker[1] says that it was "juxta Roffam," apparently quoting "Roff. Histor." This, at any rate, shews that near Rochester was at least not thought an unlikely place for a great general Council. Collier also gives the marginal title "The synod at Hatfield *or* Clyff, near Rochester." So much for Heathfelth. But where, after all, was "Herutford," the place of the earlier synod (A.D. 673), also convened by Archbishop Theodore? This may be looked upon as the initial one of the long series of "Clofeshoch" synods: at which that series was first appointed. Mr. Kemble says[2] that it was "presided over by Hlothari the sovereign of Kent," and this was probably the case, although Beda does not expressly say so. Beda only adds, to his account of the decrees of the council, a paragraph beginning with a statement that it was held A.D. 673, the year in which king Ecgberct had died and been succeeded by his brother Hlothere. Kent was still an independent kingdom; and, not only in the primacy, but in its instrument, the series of synods thus instituted, possessed within itself the heart of the now established church; which, having become an active political function of concentration, was a much coveted constituent of empire; and invited the impending aggression of Mercia. Within three years of the first institution and localisation of these councils, Æthelred made a direct swoop upon this quarry, when he entered Kent at this very Hoo, the appointed place of the future councils.

The only reason for "Hertford," as the usual interpretation of "Herutford," is again the mere likeness of the name; and is

[1] Pe Ant. Brit. Eccl., ed. Drake., p. 81. [2] C.D., vol. I., Int. p. cvii.

not a strong one even of its kind. Any place with "Rod-," "Reed-," "Rote-," and many the like initial syllable, would have a better claim. It is very much suspected that the method, hitherto practised of placing these old place-names, has been far too hasty. It may fairly be expected that some of them are no longer represented by any existing names. We have seen above by how close a shaving several have survived. But of this name "Herutford," "Heorotford," or "Heortford," it might safely be assumed that the initial "He-," is no more than a prefixed aspirate: that it is not of the essence of the name. And so Beda himself evidently thought; for when[1] he mentions a name, almost identical with this one, in Hampshire; he gives it with a Latin explanation, "*Hreutford*, id est *Vadum harundinis*," evidently taking it for Reed or Rodford.[2] We might also expect to find such a name represented by a modern name beginning with "Wr-;" but an inconsiderable "Redham," a farm, in Gloucestershire, is found written "Hreodham" in the tenth century.

The above had already been written, when it seemed to be at least a formal obligation to test this principle, by a direct application of it to the district under consideration; which has unexpectedly yielded, what is at any rate, an example of the principle. Whether or not it indicates an actual trace of the place "Herutford" itself, shall not at present be ventured to say. However,[3] in the charter, dated 778, already quoted, in which the

[1] Lib. IV., ch. 15.

[2] Looking at this again, a fresh and interesting association arises. This must have been at or close to "*Red*bridge," at the head of the Southampton estuary. Beda is telling the story of the two young pagan Jutish princes, from the Isle of Wight, being baptised, preparatory to their martyrdom, by Cyniberet abbot of Hreutford. Close to Redbridge is Nutshalling, the monastery to which the young Winfred, afterwards St. Bonifatius, passed from Exeter to the care of the abbot "Wynbert." There can be no doubt that Beda's monastery of Hrentford is identical with the Nutschalling of the biographers of Winfred; and that Beda's "Cyniberet" is the same as their "Wynbert."

If this identification, both of a place and a person, that have both been known by different names for above a thousand years, should be justified; it will be all the more remarkable, because Beda's text has been in English keeping; whilst that of the biographers of Bonifatius has been chiefly in foreign literary custody.

[3] Cod. Dip., No. CXXXII.

level land north of Cliffe is called "Scaga;" the land-marks begin with the words "Huic uero terrae adiacent pratae ubi dicitur Hreodham." The land itself, to which it is adjacent, is called "Bromgeheg;" a name which now remains as "Broomey," a house only, at Cooling; and the chief land-limits are "Clifwara gemære" and "Culinga gemære." The land is granted to the Bishop of Rochester, but evidently adjoins the eastern side of that including Cliffe itself, which had already been given to the Archbishop, as above quoted.

Even at first sight it would seem unaccountable, that, at a synod held at Hertford; what appears to amount to a periodical series of repetitions or continuations, or in fact adjournments of it should have been determined upon at so distant a place as Clofeshoch,—wherever that may prove to have been—must have been from Hertford. It would seem more likely, that the future place of assembly in view, would have been practically in the same place. This initial council was under the presidency of the Primate; and so were those that followed, except that when the King of Mercia was present the Primate yielded the first place to him The permanently appointed place would also be likely to have in view the convenience of access, to the Primate, of his suffragans, from all the sub-kingdoms; and to this the Watling-street contributed, not only his own ready approach from Canterbury, to the very place where tradition has fixed it; but also, for those who were to meet him there; the most perfect road from London, and the entire north-west of the island; whilst immediate access from East Saxony, East Anglia, and the northern dioceses, has been shewn in the well frequented ferry, also to this very place. The Church of England is seen to have had an earlier approximation towards political unity than the Kingdom of England. The former was, in fact, contributory to the latter as, perhaps, one of its most efficient causes. This was not lost sight of by those who aimed at the supremacy; whose policy, therefore, was to have the Primate at his right hand in his councils; and to cultivate an identity of interest with him. Offa's attempt to set up

an Archbishop at Lichfield, only seven miles from his home-court at Tamworth, was in this direction.

This attempt to determine the true place of these synods, during the continuance of Mercian supremacy in England; was intended to confirm the statement, that wherever extraneous dedications of St. Werburgh are found, traces are also found of the energetic or active presence of Æthelbald. It may seem to be rather an elaborate implement for so small a purpose. It has been more extensive than was contemplated: but, if once successfully constructed, it may serve a greater purpose of its own: the setting at rest of a long dispute. And this purpose of its own will itself receive back all that it gives to ours: for if the presence of Æthelbald, accounts for our having found a St. Werburgh in this now secluded peninsula; the presence of that dedication, is a weighty confirmation of the much disputed fact, that he was busy and much resident there; and that we might reasonably expect his most important acts to be dated thence. At all events, it is hoped that our sixth and last remaining of the wandering dedications of St. Werburgh, in the Kentish Hoo, has been thus discovered to have been in the immediate company of Æthelbald; when, as it is said in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:

> "A.D. 742. Now was a great synod gathered at Cloueshou, and there was Æthelbald, King of the Mercians, and Cutbert, Archbishop, and many other wise men."

But something more is to be said concerning this passage itself of the Chronicle. It appears to be only contained in one manuscript; consequently in the five-column edition, this year is only filled in in the fifth column; the other four being blank. Sir T. D. Hardy says of this solitary manuscript, that it is "apparently of the twelfth century;" and that it contains "various peculiar additions, chiefly relating to Kentish ecclesiastical affairs."[1] Professor Earle also says of it: "There is no external tradition informing us as to what home it belonged, but the internal

[1] M.H.B., Pref. 77.

evidence assigns it to Christ Church, Canterbury."[1] This is much more to our purpose than if it had been in all the manuscripts: for if it had been a part of the usual and received text of the Chronicle, it would have here been a mere retranscription, for ages, with an indefinite locality. As it is, standing only in a Chronicle of Canterbury; it had evidently claimed the special attention of the Annalist, from its direct local Kentish interest; and especially its concern with a piece of land, which, we have seen, was owned by the Cathedral Church to which the writer belonged. What has been already said about the "Dr. Hethe" note[2] applies with still greater force to this; which is indeed the same Canterbury tradition; only that it is in hand-writing of four hundred years earlier date.

But "Hoo-St.-Werburgh" is a parish adjoining to Cliffe; and our argument is, that when, as recorded in the Canterbury copy of the Chronicle, A.D. 742, there was a synod at Clovesho, and that "Æthelbald was there;" he founded and dedicated this church, as we have found him to have done elsewhere. Added to this, we have seen reason, and shall presently see more, that the neighbouring church of Cliffe itself was founded by his great successor Offa, A.D. 774. It has been said, and with great likelihood, that Cliffe and Hoo-St.-Werburgh were the two most ancient churches in the Hoo; and that they are the mother churches of the five or six others in the peninsula, that have sprung up at some later times; their segregated portions, which, in due course, have consolidated into separate parishes.

As before said, the church at Cliffe-at-Hoo itself, has the dedication of St. Helen; and it is believed that, by a similar foretaste of chivalry, to that of Æthelbald's for St. Werburgh; Offa habitually planted his standard under the name of this other female saint. It is, therefore, no wonder that we find these two close together, in that very district wherein, during two long reigns, Æthelbald and Offa are recorded as constantly performing acts of sovereignty. Of this there are many evidences, besides the councils about which we are engaged, in the accounts of their

[1] Two Chron., Introd., lii. [2] P. 132.

dealings, in this district, and along the Medway, and throughout Kent, in the manner in which conquerors usually deal with newly-acquired land; as shewn in their numerous charters.

The reputed British-Roman nativity of St. Helen in Deira, appears to have given her name a prevalence in that province, with which the Anglian successors of the northern Britons were infected; like that of St. Alban, and the Kentish St. Martin, with his prolific eastern grafts.[1] And they accepted and improved the legacy. But the remains, of this acceptance, of a local aspect of religion, are the most conspicuous in Deira; and in Lindisse or Southumbria, a constituent of that kingdom. It did not extend to Bernicia. Of the known existing dedications of St. Helen, Durham contains only two, Northumberland one, Westmoreland and Cumberland none; and we learn from Bp. Forbes, that the name thinly re-appears beyond the border in Scottish Northumbria. But in Yorkshire we find twenty-two, and in Lincolnshire thirty; and these last, except two a little south of it, are all in Lindsey proper: Nottinghamshire also has ten. Lancashire has four or five. The tendency of Northumbrian hagiology to spread into Mercia proper, has been already mentioned; and a still pretty free, but reduced, scattering of St. Helens is found in that kingdom. Derbyshire has 5, Cheshire 3, Northants 6, Leicestershire 4, but Staffordshire none, Salop one—being near to [H]Elle[n]smere. Bedfordshire one at [H]El[len]stow. Herts one at Wheathampstead—near Offa's St. Alban, and Essex (Colchester) one. The Wiccian counties, Warwick two, Worcester (city), and Gloucestershire (north) each one.

The above examples, of this dedication in England—about 96—have been recited, chiefly for the purpose of exhaustion. The residual seven or eight, still more scattered over the more southern counties, are what our lesson must be chiefly read from; that they are found in the footsteps of Offa, as marks of new possession; in a similar manner to the St. Werburghs in the tract of Æthelbald. No doubt each of the ninety six has its own story to tell, but it does not now concern us.

[1] Kent has 15 extant St. Martins, Lincoln 14, Norfolk 14, Suffolk 7, Essex 4, Middlesex 8.

As we have already seen,[1] A.D. 774, Offa granted the land at Higham in Hoo, which includes the site of the church and town of Cliffe, to Jaenberht, Archbishop of Canterbury; exceptionally surrounded by lands of the Bishop of Rochester. At the same time, there can be no doubt, he founded and dedicated the church, which still bears the name of St. Helen. Again, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 777, it is written, "Now Cynewulf" —of Wessex—"and Offa fought around Bensington, and Offa took that town." The church at Bensington on the left—or Offa's —shore of the Thames is also a St. Helen at this day. At Albury, also in Oxfordshire, about nine miles north of Bensington, on the smaller river Thame, the church is St Helen. Also, on the Thames, at Abingdon, as is well known, there is a St. Helen. With regard, however, to this last, the local monastic tradition gives an earlier origin, founded on a miraculous discovery of a Holy Rood. This must stand, against our use of this example, for whatever the tradition may be worth. Perhaps a fourth "Sancta Helena" is recorded,[2] as the sanctuary of a fugitive who had stolen a bridle, A.D. 995. The land, given in conciliation, must have been close to the chalk ridge south of the White Horse Vale, Berks; as, among the boundaries, is "Cwicelmes hlæw," well known to be on this ridge; and the "grenanweg," still called by the neighbours "the Green Way;" being a part of what is called "the Drover's Road," by which, until outdone by the rail, cattle from the west were driven, for many miles, turnpike free, and with peripatetic grazing. The St. Helen here referred to may, however, have been Abingdon itself.

At any rate, here are three, out of the few existing southern St. Helens, in the line of frontier then realised by Offa against Wessex. The same line of St. Helens, both eastward and westward, is also extended across the island, from the extreme north of Kent, as we have seen; by the well-known one in London; and another formerly at Malmsebury, and another at Bath. These last three—making six—also probably resulted from the same campaign of Offa as the Berkshire and Oxfordshire ones.

[1] P. 149. [2] Cod. Dip., No. MCCLXXXIX.

That at Bath, however, has a special claim to our attention; having been in that same suburb outside the north gate, where also was found the St. Werburgh, within the fork of the Foss-way and that now called Via Julia. Here then, as already in the Hoo of Kent, we once more find a St. Werburgh and a St. Helen in immediate companionship. The seal of Æthelbald endorsed by that of Offa, the inheritor of his policy.[1] But what is the significance of these emblems of Mercian territory, being both found outside the Roman walled town on the north side? Did this suburb become specially a Mercian quarter? The monastery, of which Offa was a reputed founder or re-founder about this very time, must have been a chief occupant of the area within the walls; and its possessions extended, in the opposite direction, beyond the river, on the Wessex side. We have already seen[2] signs of Æthelbald's further south-west progress along the Foss-way as far as into East Devon.

Besides this line of St. Helens, along the frontier, which was the result of the campaign recorded in the Chronicle, under A.D. 777; there are still three outlying southward, along the south coast: the extreme natural limit of the Saxon nations. Although not recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, an earlier excursion of Offa is mentioned by others. A.D. 771, Simeon of Durham[3] says "His diebus Offa, rex Merciorum, Hestingorum gentem armis subegerat." Dr. Lappenberg, in relating this feat of Offa's, calls "the Hestingas, a people whose locality, like that of so many others among the Saxons, is not known with certainty. They have been sought for about Hastings in Sussex, and most probably inhabited the district around that town to which they gave their name."[4] Roger of Wendover, however, reads "Anglorum gentem."[5] Upon this, Sir F. Palgrave had already noted: "It is

[1] These were both in that suburb, still called "Ladymead." But it would be one of the rash things, that are so often committed in these matters, to connect this name with the two Lady dedications. In fact there is a tolerable alternative. It may have been a mead that belonged to one "Godric Ladda," a witness to an Anglo-Saxon manumission of a Bondsman, in Bath Abbey. (Hickes, Dissert., 8 Epist., p. 22).

[2] P. 124-5. [3] Mon. Hist. Brit., p. 664.

[4] A.-S. K., I., 229-30. [5] Flores Hist., 1601. p. 143.

not easy to ascertain what people are meant. The name has inclined many writers to suppose that they were the inhabitants of Hastings, but they could scarcely be of sufficient importance. Perhaps we should read *East Anglorum*."[1] Other recent historians, with or without hesitation, adopt the present town of Hastings as the scene of the conquest.

Here then we have another fully ripe historic doubt; so evenly balanced in the judgments of the most specifically learned, that after what has already been shewn, of the local coincidences of dedications of St Helen with the feats of Offa; if the like should be found also to apply to the one here recorded, would be sufficient to give a considerable bias to the scale. And this is what we do find.

About a mile north of the town, which still bears a name that has since acquired other claims to places in history, Hastings; is a village called Ore; of which the church has another of our southern outlying dedications of St. Helen. If Offa's conquest, as recorded by Simeon of Durham, refers to Sussex, it needs only to say so much, in order to account for this one; and to fulfil the promise of our theory; that the name of this saint and the written witnesses of Offa's progress, shall be found to mutually confirm each other as evidence of his active presence. This village is situated on an elevation commanding the town itself; and on the southern edge of a ridge, along which, and close to the village, runs one of those great roads, of which the straight line is significant of a long, ancient, and arterial use. In fact it must have been always the almost sole approach to the town, whether from Kent or from the centre of England. Moreover, at whatever point of the neighbouring beach, at a later time, William landed; this road must have been his principal means of reaching Battle. Here, therefore, upon the door itself of the town, still remains the usual seal of Offa's conquests. Sir Francis Palgrave's objection, of the insufficient importance of the Gens Hestingorum, would not, it is thought, have been raised, if he had remembered that the large territory, called the "Rap de Hastings" of Domesday, and the

[1] Eng. Com., Proofs, cclxxix.

Rape of Hastings of our own time, most likely had already existed from the first settlement of the South Saxons. Two or three years later, Offa is still found busy in that part of Kent which adjoins this most eastern of the Rapes of Sussex.

But although the Hæstingas only are mentioned, as the people first encountered, there are other evidences that he extended his conquests westward throughout Sussex. One of his St. Helens remains on the foot of the South Downs, between the peninsulated stronghold called The Devil's Dike and the sea; and, within actual eyeshot, is another, on the opposite eastern coast of the Isle of Wight. Moreover he has, as was his practice in many parts of England, also left his own name along the line, in Offham, near Lewes, Offington, near Worthing, Offham, close to Arundel Park.

There are also one or two St. Helens or Elens, both in Cornwall and Wales: which would be in accordance with what otherwise has been said above, but as several local Celtic saints have names liable to become more familiar by corruption into this one, they will not be here called into evidence.

For the series of synods of which the acts are dated from Cloveshoe did not cease with the reign of Æthelbald. These, interspersed with occasional dates of Cealchythe and Aclea, continued throughout the other long and dominant Mercian reign of his successor Offa. Indeed they continued as long as Mercia remained supreme, and far into the ninth century: the date of "Clofeshoe" being last met with for a synod under Beornuulf, A.D. 825: about the time when both Kent and Essex are found to have been annexed by Wessex.

It may seem difficult to realise that what is a small detached region—almost practically an island—now containing only four or five villages or decayed towns; was, for about a century and a half, the seat of one of the royal residences, where a succession of powerful kings held so many of their courts to which were convened the magnates of their own and of subject kingdoms. The truth is, that political centrality is not coincident with geographical; and is only partially dependent upon natural aspect or condition. London is very far from a geographical centre; and,

if we could bring into view its original natural aspect; London, with its marshes would be as incredible as the place here concerned. Its present greatness is the outgrowth of the later supremacy of Wessex; and London was as much an outpost of Saxony into Mercia, as the Hoo had been of Anglia into Centland.

Those who expect a confirmation of this regal occupation of the Hoo, from substantial remains there, may remember that a thousand years of desertion have passed over it. As Fuller said when writing of this controversy about Cloveshoe, already warm in his day:[1] "Nor doth the modern Meanness of the Place make anything against it; it might be a Gallant in that Age, which is a Beggar now-a-dayes." Geographical and natural conditions have much to do with the choice and permanence of the seats of governments; but political needs and fortunes often over-rule or reverse them. The rise of Wessex turned the preference to other centres; and the exposure of this peninsula to the ravages of the Danes, just then becoming active, is sufficient to have brought desolation upon it. The site of New York seems very much like this; but its growth was not prevented by such a constant peril as this last in its front, nor by the ascendancy of a rival power in its rear. It is political causes that have surrounded the circular mound at Windsor with the regal associations, which have forsaken that of Tamworth; and the same political causes have covered with houses and palaces, not only the elevated spot upon which London was first planted, but the many miles of swamp that encompassed it. When cities, or settlements upon elevations, take to growing great, they no longer despise the alluvial levels which skirt them; but cover even these with buildings. This is the case with London itself, where even the supreme Aula Regia of the Saxon empire, that has inherited the "England" of Æthelbald and Offa; stands upon a similar alluvial appendage of the higher ground of the original settlement; to that which, projecting from the chalky heights of the Hoo, has been declared to be inconsistent with its history.

Again, are there preserved, anywhere at all, any fragments whatever, of masonry of the time of Æthelbald and Offa, even

[1] Ch. H., 1655, II., viii., 21.

under the most favourable circumstances? We have seen that many churches were founded in that age, that have continued in vital existence to this day. In these, if anywhere, remains of the first structures might have been found. Instead of this, the few præ-Norman relics that do exist can scarcely be said to approach that date; and when, later, they do crop up; they seem to bring with them an indication, why they are the earliest. They are found in places where stone is as plenty and as easily hewn as wood; and they appear to be worked and constructed by hands and heads that had been accustomed to work and construct in wood; and often with adze-like tool marks. The angry question whether the word "timber" was, by birth, a verb or a noun—a question of which some of the most eminent Anglo-Saxon scholars seem, on waking, to have found themselves on the wrong side—shall not here be roused; but the absence of earlier remains may be accounted for, by taking for granted, wood to have been, at the earlier time, the material mostly used. What then can we expect to find in a tract of land, ever since abandoned to its ordinary rural and pastoral condition? The cartular evidence of the importance of this small territory, during the time in question, is most abundant; and the many traces of antiquity, in the names of now inconsiderable spots, has been already referred to.

As the inferences, from the surviving examples of these dedications, and their topographical distribution, may have assumed the tone of exact or statistical inductions; it is but right that they should be qualified by an admission that, from that point of view, they are subject to some elements of discount. It has been already admitted that more extinct St. Werburghs may come to light; and of course it is impossible to foresee to what extent the inferences may be thereby disturbed; although it is not expected that they can be substantially over-balanced. Indeed, there are not wanting other spots which have names with a suspicious possibility of being corruptions of the name of Werburgh, similar to those that we have seen, where they are confirmed by the actual survival of the dedication itself; as in the cases of Warburton and Warbstow. Of these are two eminences, the situations of

which are strikingly similar to that at Wembury, as if chosen by the same eye. They are close to the sea shore, but in other parts of the south coast. These are a hill, called "Warberrys," close to Torquay; and another called "Warbarrow," in the isle of Purbeck. But neither of these have traces of the dedication, and both names are quite likely to have had other causes; nor can the places be directly connected with any known record of Æthelbald. Therefore they shall not be enlisted into the present enquiry. There is also a Wareberrewe near Wallingford, with the present dedication of S. Laurence.

The indications, that have been above induced, however, from the occurrences of the dedications of St. Werburgh in south England, as well as those of St. Cuthbert in Wessex, are very distinct and definite as guide-posts in historical topography; being strictly national or dynastic. But St. Helen, as compared with them, has the great disadvantage of being catholic and illustrious; and the possibility, of course, exists, for a catholic dedication to have had sometimes other causes besides that here attributed—the personal veneration of a conqueror. It is, however, thought that the comparative numbers in the different provinces, that have been offered, may help any judgment upon this point. One cause of aberration, in the case of the St. Helens may be, that some examples may have been "St. Helen and Holy Rood;" and, as often happens to a joint dedication, one half may have been worn off by grinding time: sometimes the first, sometimes the last; so that some of what are now only known as Holy Rood, or Holy Cross, may have been originally St. Helens. On the other hand, the dedication of Holy Rood may, in some cases, have been independently attached to churches, that have arisen where there had already been a cross of a martyr, which had brought a great resort to a spot of reputed eminent sanctity.[1] Or, as in the legend

[1] The contemporary authoress of the life of St. Willibald, says that (about A.D. 703), it was the custom among the Saxons—*i.e.* Willibald's compatriots in Wessex—for some noble or substantial men, not to erect a church upon their estates, but to hold in honour a lofty Holy Cross. This seems a strong confirmation of a recent suggestion of Prof. Earle, that the English word "Church" is a transliteration, and scarcely that, of the word "crux." It seems to be a more likely word for the churches of Augustine

of Abingdon, where a cross, or a piece of the True Cross has been said to have been miraculously found: or a wonder-working Crucifix, as at Waltham Abbey. The local distribution of Holy Roods does not shew any estimable counter-balance of that of the St. Helens; and the Holy Roods themselves are believed to have had a tendency to pass into St. Saviour, or Christchurch.

One very general agent in the obliteration of those dedications that are national, or otherwise capable of rendering historical indications, has been particularly active in the English part of this island. This is the tendency to depose them, in favour of the greater saints, who are recognized and honoured throughout Christendom. This, as might have been expected, is more particularly the case of St. Mary. It is likely that many of the churches with this dedication are amplifications of sanctuaries of the more ancient and national kind. So strong was this tendency that, where it did not drown out the original tutelar name of a church; it must at least be satisfied by the addition of a "Lady Chapel." Such a process of change may often be seen actually at work. The fine large church at Marden, Herefordshire, is said, both by Leland and Browne Willis, to have the dedication of St. Ethelbert; and so no doubt it has: but the present officers of the church, if asked, pronounce it to be of St. Mary. A glance at the building accounts for this. Within the church, at, perhaps, about twenty feet from the western wall, is preserved an uncommon relique, the well of St. Ethelbert; murdered by Offa, about a mile off, but whose shrine was at Marden, until translated to Hereford Cathedral. There can be no doubt that the well occupied the focus of the original small sanctuary that was first raised over the reliques of the martyr; and which was on the brink of the river, that flows near the western front of the church, and so prevented enlargement in that direction. The large increase of the church eastward, in accordance with the practice of the later age, having been devoted to the name of St. Mary. Another similar case, of

and Birinus, than the usual one more distantly derived. Leland in one place has "curx" for "crux." In planting these crosses, these old Lords of Manors were sowing the seeds of what are to us parishes.

Middleham in Richmondshire, has been kindly brought to notice by Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe. The original dedication is St. Alkelda, whose martyrdom ,being strangled by two female servants, is represented on glass. Her traditional altar-tomb, is westward of the chancel arch of the collegiate choir of St. Mary, founded by King Richard III. The only other traces of St. Alkelda is a church in her name at Giggleswick, some miles westward.

That sort of conviction, which arises from a gradual accumulation of facts, upon what had at first started as a suspicion or a guess ; cannot be so vividly imparted to a reader. But even if what has been said above should have been successful ; it will be very far from having exhausted the materials of this kind of enquiry : will only have served, by one or two examples, to shew the value of a neglected class of monuments, which, it is thought, have not yet been made to yield up their teaching. At the best, what has here been done, can be no more than the exposure of two or three fragments of a vast ruin, co-extensive with the land ; of which the plan should be restored by a comparative registration or cartography of the whole. In the Celtic portions of these islands, the dedications of the churches retain much of their original or primitive topical distribution ; shewing, as they have sometimes already been made to do, the maternity of missionary centres to offshoot churches. In the Teutonized portions of England, it is likely that they have another and greater lesson. They are here, in addition, believed to be able to shew, to a certain extent, what may be called an ethnical stratification ; which, if carefully observed, would often mark out the extension of revolutions or conquests : more especially in those early times, of which written history is scanty or altogether wanting.

THE CRYPT OF ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH, BRISTOL,

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IT is stated by Barrett and others that a church, dedicated to St. Nicholas, was founded in 1030 by Brihtric, Earl of Gloucester.[1] If so, and we see no reason to doubt the assertion, it could scarcely have been on the same site as the Church of St. Nicholas, the crypt of which forms the subject of this paper. Until sometime after A.D. 1247 the area upon which the present church stands was occupied by the great wall which surrounded the town,[2] and it is not probable that the Lords of the town would have suffered its defences to have been pierced and weakened, by a church constructed in the thickness of, or, perhaps, beneath the wall. That a previous church, dedicated to the same saint, did exist, probably near the present site, but on higher ground, is, however, clear.

In 1172 Robert Fitzharding gave the church of St. Nicholas to the Abbey of St. Augustine in Bristol,[3] and, in 1200, Robert Wombstrong,[4] gave his bakehouse to build a chapel to the church of St. Nicholas, which by some has been supposed to be this crypt. I need scarcely point to the style of the architecture, which is some two centuries later, as a proof that this could not be the case, and moreover as Wombstrong specially reserved "the cellar under the bakehouse" for his own use. Besides, until A.D. 1809, the adjoining part of the Avon was a tidal river, and boats, in times of flood, have sailed up to the door of the present crypt; a cellar, therefore, under its floor must have been a mere "soak-well."

[1] Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 494. [2] See Plate VI., fig. 1.
[3] Barrett, 494. [4] MSS., City Library.

Wherever the first church stood, this fact seems certain, that it could not, for the above reasons, have been on the site of the existing edifice.

About the middle of the 13th century, it was found desirable to extend the limits of the town[1] a new loopwall was built on its western side, and a broad deep trench was dug, that carried off the waters of the Frome from the foss to the Avon.

The old wall was, consequently, no longer required, and, as space was valuable in the town, it was gradually demolished, and its site used for building purposes, the foss being made into the street now known as Baldwin Street. Amongst the buildings erected on the site of this old wall, I contend, were a number of churches for the "*secular clergy*;" St. Leonard's, with its triangular gateway, built at the intersection of Baldwin, Stephen, and Corn Streets. St. Giles' Church, built over the gate at the bottom of Small Street; it was incorporated with St. Leonard's in 1301.[2] St. Lawrence was on the wall site adjoining the Gateway of St. John's Church, which latter still stands at the bottom of Broad Street. The Dove Tower (possibly ecclesiastical), above an archway on the wall site, leading to Aylward's Gate. St. Peter's, which stands right across the line where there was a gate of access to the Castle, and St. Stephen's Church (but not its tower) erected circa 1304, in the pomœrium of the ancient wall. St. Leonard's, which was destroyed in 1770. St. Lawrence incorporated with St. John's A.D. 1580.[3] St. John's, and lastly, the north aisle of St. Nicholas church crypt; these were all in the direct line of the wall, and occupied each the apparent breadth thereof, viz.: from 27ft. to 28ft.

The gate opposite to Bristol Bridge (then newly built of stone) was secured for a new church of St. Nicholas, and the unevenness of the site the more readily allowed of the construction of the crypt.

I have a copy of a deed by which Walter Derby, Mayor of Bristol, gave a lamp to burn before the image of the Blessed

[1] Charter 24th, Henry III., see Plate VI., fig. 1.

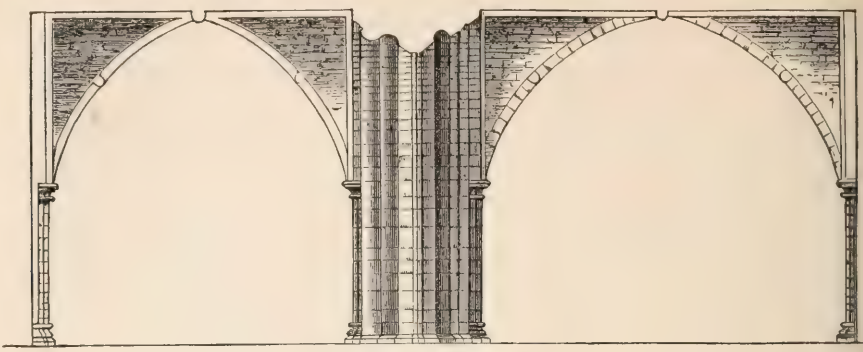
[2] Evans' Chron. History, p. 71. [3] Evans, fig. 289. Ibid., 156.

Virgin, in the crypt of St. Nicholas, for ever. This is dated 1276, but the date is, I think, erroneous, arising from a clerical error on the part of the copyist. The first mayor of this name served the office in 1363, then in 1367, 1376, 1380, and 1384.[1] I believe the correct date to be 1376, and if we take either of the early dates above stated as the period of the erection of the crypt to which the lamp was given, we shall find, I think, that the style of the architecture of the north, or earliest, portion, agrees with that period (see engraving, p. 172). I conclude, therefore, that it was built immediately after the first half of the 14th century, although, probably, an earlier church occupied the site from the middle of the 13th.

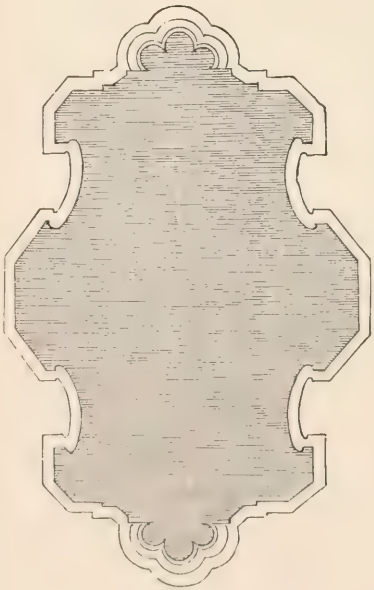
A more recent examination has revealed a small portion of the vaulting of this former church. At the extreme east end of the fourth bay of the north aisle is part of a crypt destroyed to make the High Street. Above the arch thrown to carry the street, is found a fragment of vaulting small but enough to prove that the present crypt was a later addition, built up against an earlier structure. The heights of the roofs do not coincide. There is one cross-rib of the older building—this does not spring from the clustered shaft, but from a spot in the north wall, now built up in the arch of the roadway. The mouldings of this rib are larger and earlier, and the rib itself is about double the size of those in the present crypt, and the vaulting appears to have been waggon-shaped.

The beginning of a central rib running eastward can be seen, and at the junction is a truly magnificent cross, with the head of Edward II. The fine acquiline nose, delicate lined mouth, three spiralled beard, and flowing hair, resemble the same points of his effigy in Gloucester Cathedral. Seen from the floor this head has the appearance of a ram's horn head-dress; on closer examination it is found that the curves are formed by four maned beasts, like lions, two face each other on either side of the frontal bone, their bodies curve round behind the ears of the effigy, two others join them and curve round to the chin and beard, where they face each other. This vault must be that fifth vault, described by William of Worcester, which is not shown on the accompanying plan

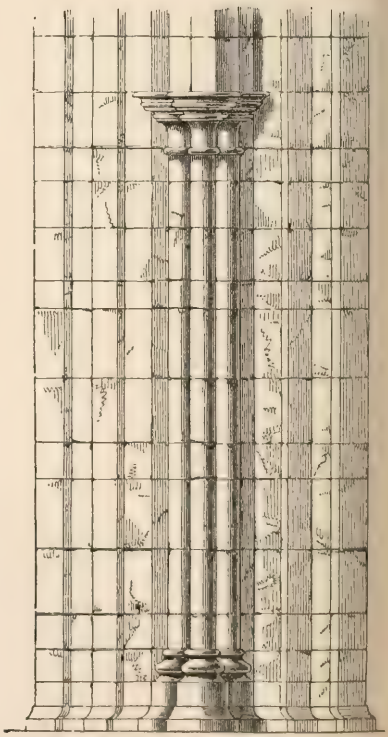
[1] Ricart's Calendar, pp, 35-6.



Transverse Section.



Plan



and Elevation of Pier in Crypt.

(p. 178). It occupied, probably, a greater area than the blank space with the stone coffin in its N.E. corner.

On the key rib of the first groining of the west side of the south aisle, of somewhat later date, is the head of Queen Phillipa, and on the south tierceron key, that of, apparently, Edward III.; Pryce[1] has taken exception to this *tradition*, saying that neither the character of the head-dress nor the style of the architecture agrees with the period in which she lived. The head-dress is, however, the same, though somewhat shortened, as shewn in her effigy in Westminster Abbey; and as she died in 1370, she was contemporary with the introduction of the perpendicular style of architecture. Assuming Walter Derby's gift to be really 1376, it is highly probable that the work of the crypt was begun in her lifetime, and the south aisle finished after her decease. Neither is it unreasonable to suppose that so great a benefactor as this Queen was to the town of Bristol should have her memory perpetuated in this roof, as it was in several other churches in the town.

Error clings to the history of this crypt and church. Barrett[2] says, in A.D. 1503, Thomas Knappe, then Mayor, gave £20 to the church of St. Nicholas, and the mistake has been copied by recent historians. Thomas Knappe was Mayor in 1387 in 1400, and in 1404[3], and it was at the second date he made the gift. His name does not again occur as Mayor.

Those who are familiar with the history of Bristol will remember the fierce internecine strife that prevailed in the period from 1250 to 1350, between the burgesses and their feudal Lords, and that from 1312 to 1316 the towns folk were in arms against their king in defence of their privileges, during which time they built another short wall between their town and the castle, only yielding when 20,000 men surrounded them. Their communication with the sea was cut off, and their walls were shattered by the battering rams of the besiegers; this will account for the apparently slow progress of the church building within these dates.

[1] Pryce, p. 273. [2] Barrett, p. 494.

[3] Seyer's Memoirs, cap. xiv., 2-25. [3] Ricart, pp. 36-7.

The crypt was a favourite place of interment, probably on account of its being the chapel of the Holy Ghost.[1] Formerly the inner walls were surrounded with stone coffins, and on the floor were a large number of incised slabs. In 1821 a stone coffin was exhumed, having on the lid a fine sculptured cross, above which was a partly obliterated mask or face, and around the edge an imperfect inscription. Enough remained to shew that the coffin contained the remains of Richard le Draper, and Mabel his wife, interred in 1311. On its being opened a perfect male skeleton was found, and at his feet a skull with some fragments of bones, probably those of the woman, whose body appeared to have been burnt to admit of her remains being deposited in the same coffin with those of her husband.

This interment shews that the ground was consecrated if it was not built upon, before the date commonly given for the Perpendicular era, and not long after the demolition of the wall. Of course the coffin may have been brought from some earlier structure.

The elder Robert Thorne, by will, desired to be buried in this crypt with his wife. He died, however, in London, when in attendance on Parliament as Burgess for Bristol, and was buried in the Temple Church, London, wherein Hakluyt says "stood his monument, bearing a Latin inscription," of which the last clause is to this effect: "By will he devised certain property for the erection,[2] foundation, continuance, and supportation of a Free School of Grammar to be established in Bristol.[3] His sons, Robert and Nicholas, with Master Goodryche, his executor, carried out his bequest, Robert adding considerably thereunto. His will, dated 20th January, 1517, is very interesting. He bequeaths his body to the "hollie churches graye in the crowde of Sent Nicholas Church," also, I will have, he says, a good priest to pray for my sowle in Sent Nicholas Church vj. yeres, and he to have vj. li. a yere." He names his sons Nicholas and Robert, and Joanna his wife; to the latter he gives £200 in ready money, and

[1] Barrett, 497. [2] Hakluyt, p. 220.

[3] Nicholas Thorne's Deed Poll, July, 1561.

200 ounces of plate. "Also," he says, "I bequeath to Sent Nicholas Church, where my bodie shall be buried, a howse that I bought of John Colas, that house in Nicholas Street."

Joanna Thorne, who survived her husband, on her death, gave to the Church of St. Nicholas a suit of vestments, of black velvet, to honour God and St. Nicholas with, and "that I may be prayed for every Sunday. If the said vestments be hyred out to any place, then I wish to be received for the loan of them 10 shillings sterling, of the which, I will 8 shillings to be given immediately to the four orders of Fryars of thys towne, and that restithe to St. Nicholas Church;" and to the same churche she bequeathed pair of gilt silver candle-sticks, weighing eighty-seven ounces.[1]

As the patron saint of this church was also the patron saint of Children, the Boy Bishop and his companions had their chief services here at St. Nicholas's-tide. The Mayor and his brethren seem to have been ready at all times to take part, as a matter of right and custom, in the popular festivals and plays of the age. Indeed it is prescribed in the Bye-laws for their government: "on St. Nicholas day, (6th December,) all join in the festival of the Boy Bishop." On St. Nicholas Eve the Maire, and Shiref, and their brethern to walk to Seynt Nicholas Church, there to hire theire even-song; and on the morrowe to hire their masse and offre, and hire the bishop's sermon, and have his blessing; and after dyner the said Maire and Shireff, and theire brethern to assemble at the mairez counter, there waytyng the Bishoppes comming, pleying the meane whiles at Dyce, the towne clerke to finde theym Dyce, and to have 1d. of every Raphile; and when the bishope is come thedir, his chapell there to synge, and the bishope to give them his blessing, and then he and all his chapell to be seured there with brede and wyne. And so departe the Maire, Shiref, and theire brethern to hire the Bishope's Evesonge at Seynt Nicholas chirch forseid."[2] In the records of St. Nicholas there are numerous entries with reference to the festival of the

[1] Smith's Guilds, p. 442.

[2] Ricart's Kalendar, pp. 80, 81. Those who have visited Salisbury

Boy Bishop, shewing the importance attached to it. A.D. 1520, paid for hanging of the church at St. Nicholas-tyde, and for meat and drynke, xijd; paid to the mynstrells, xijd. There are other entries for dressing up the Bishop's stall, and general instructions are given to dress up the Bishop's gate against St. Nicholas day, under pain of ijd.[1] On the following day they attend the Church of St. Nicholas for a different purpose: "Item, upon the morowe of Seynt Nicholas day, hit hath been vsid the Bailliffs of Bristowe to make deliueree of the Towne ray lyvereies vnto all thofficers of the same, in maner and forme followyng: that is to say, to the Toune Clerk, xlij. rayes, and as moche pleyne cloth accordyng,"[2] and to the other officers in proportion.

William, of Worcester, thus describes the church:—"Via ab ecclesia sancti Nicholai cum gressibus areæ dictæ ecclesiæ ad introitum ecclesiæ voltæ vocatæ le crowd, cum spacio latitudinis volte de dicta ecclesia arcus ac spacio latitudine, 20 gressibus,[3]

Cathedral, will perhaps remember the tomb of a Boy Bishop who died during his ephemeral episcopacy.

NOTE:—There is considerable doubt as to diminutive effigies, in which the proportions and costume are those of a man, representing children. See a Memoir by Mr. W. S. Walford, on a cross-legged effigy at Horsted Keynes, Sussex. (Archæol. Journal, vol. III., p. 234.) Mr. Walford remarks: "an effigy is *primâ facie* to be considered as representing that, to which, having regard to the costume and general appearance, it bears most resemblance, irrespectively of its size; for it is unreasonable from size alone to infer that it was not intended for a full grown person."

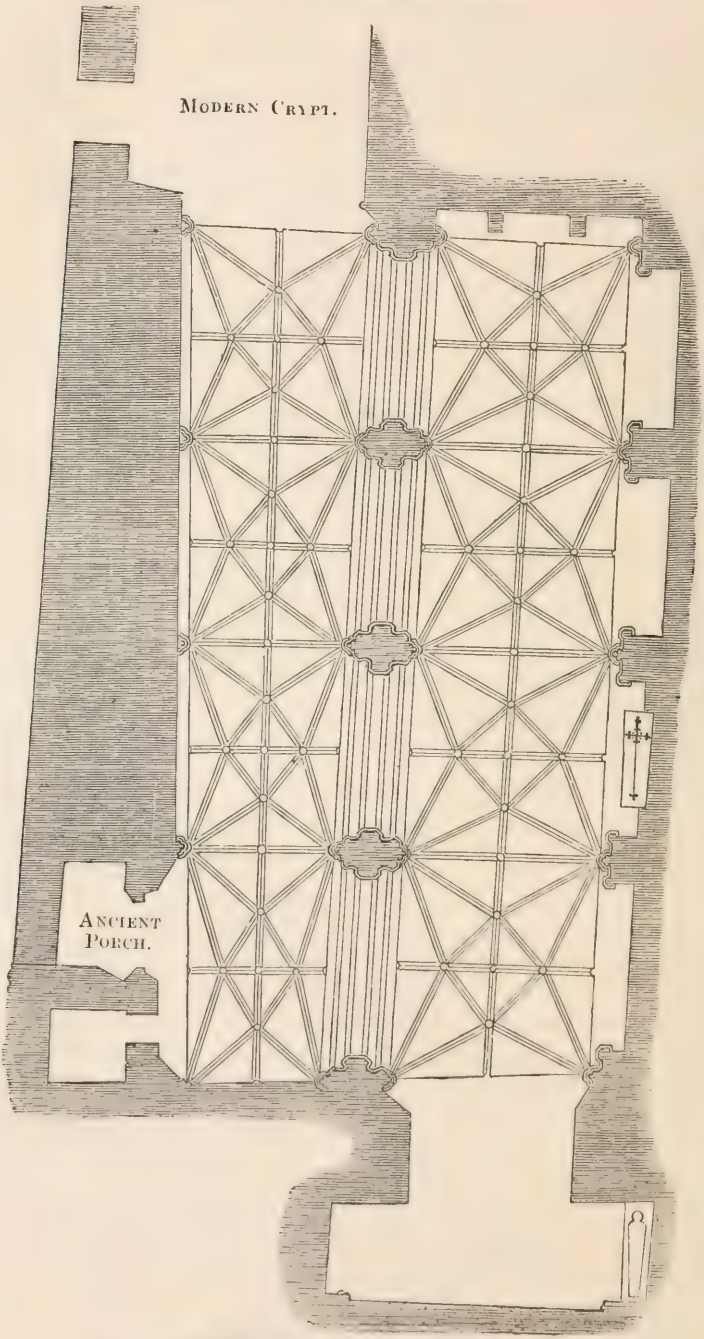
Thus a small effigy, apparently of a knight or priest, is "to be taken as representing an adult; for till a certain age knighthood and priests orders were not usually conferred; and we have no reason *a priori* to expect to meet with an effigy of a child attired as a knight or priest," and he adds: the "story of the Boy Bishop at Salisbury Cathedral needs confirmation." See also notes on the same subject, by Mr. John Gough Nichols, in the Introduction to the Boy Bishop's sermons, pp. xxviij., xxix. (Camden Miscel., vol. VII.) Mr. Nichols, says: "In many cases there is no doubt the diminutive effigy was placed *where the heart of the deceased was deposited* and one of the full size where the body was interred," and he cites several instances. Of this class doubtless were the two small effigies found at Bitton, in which excavation beneath the effigies did not disclose any interment. (See ante p. 34.)—ED.

[1] St. Nicholas Crypt, Bristol, by John Taylor, Esq., printed in Journal of Archæological Association.

[2] Ricart's Kalendar, p. 81.

[3] The gressus was two thirds of a yard, says Dallaway. Query, was not the Roman step 2ft. 6in.?—ED.

CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, BRISTOL.



ANCIENT CRYPT.—Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$th of an inch to the foot.

ad descensum voltæ de la crowde ultradict, 20 gressus prætio, 2 virgas, Tamen longitudo tocius voltæ cum duobus alis ex numero, 5 Pillerys arcuatis continet 12 virgas, et 5 magnæ columpnæ ac 5 archus sunt in dictæ criptæ 5 volta. Item turris quadratus campanilis ecclesiæ predictæ continet 5 virgas et omne parte." "The breadth of the crypt called *le crowd*, with the two aisles arched with the number of five pillars, measures 12 yards, and five great pillars and five arches are in the said crypt, or vault. Also the square belfry tower measures 5 yards on every side."[1] The length of the crowd of St. Nicholas measures (besides the chapel, with seven yards for the chapel of Holy Cross) 31 yards; its breadth measures 12 yards, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The spire was constructed of wood, and covered with lead, the pieces jointed and let into one another, which William of Worcester calls: *Magnum pinaculum sive spera mearenno (mearemio,* timber?) *elevato, cum plumbo cooperto.*[2] There were six bells in the tower; and the great clock bell was fixed in the steeple above the rest, with an inscription and the date 1396. After Prince Rupert had captured the city in A.D. 1643, Lord Percy, his General of Artillery, claimed the whole of the church bells of Bristol, with which he cast cannon. This bell, doubtless, shared in the general fate.

The accompanying illustration (p. 178) accurately shews the remains of the ancient Crypt now existing, and the discrepancy between it, and the description given by William of Worcester, is accounted for, ante p. 170.

The present crypt was independent of the church above. It had its own procurators, or wardens, distinct from those of the church, and its own special endowments, possessing in this respect, besides the endowments of seven chantries, eight houses in Baldwin Street, Nicholas Street, and Broadmead.[3] The upper church is

[1] Dallaway, Antiq. of Bristowe, p. 77.

[2] Dallaway Antiq. Bristowe, p. 138.

[3] There would seem to be some misapprehension here. We have appended to this the certificate, made by the Commissioners appointed to make a Return of Colleges, Chantries, &c. within the Counties of Gloucester and Bristol, from which it appears, that, at the time these foundations were

called in the Proctor's book, the "High Church." The existing records of the crypt begin in 1489; among the obits was one "For all good doers," on Holy Rood eve (13 September). On this occasion attended 12 priests, including two clerks, who were paid collectively 3s. 8d. The religious office ended, as usual, there was a feast, for which cakes and ale were supplied in abundance. In 1523, as much as 18 bushels of wheat, at 18½ a bushel, were consumed; and besides the expense of butter, saffron, &c., 6s. 8d. is charged for baking, with the addition of a Holy Rood Eve at the bakehouse, the cost of a dinner for the priests, and 14s. for ale.[1]

In the ordinances for the observance of Christmas, at Bristol, in the reign of Edward IV., the Mayor was ordered to make proclamation on the market day next before Christmas, or else on Christmas eve: "That no manner of person, of what degree or condition that they be of, go a mumming with close visages, nor go after Curfew rung at St. Nicholas without light in their hands, that is to say sconce light, and that they go in no wise with weapon defensibly arrayed, whereby the king's peace may be in any mannerwise broken or hurt, and that upon pain of imprisonment

abolished and their revenues seized into the King's hands, in connection with the *parish* of St. Nicholas, there were six such foundations only, whereof one, the Chapel of the Fraternity of the Assumption of Our Lady, was a separate Gild Chapel, distant a "Butte Shotte" from the parish church. It was situate on the bridge, towards the maintenance and sustentation of which its endowments where chiefly applied (see No. 6). The certificate is dated 14th Feb., 2 Edw. vj. (1547-8). The good objects to which the endowments were applied did not preserve it from plunder.

Appertaining to the Crypt itself, there would appear to have been *only one* endowment which amounted to £6 12s. 8d. per annum, and which, according to another certificate (No. 21), was thus appropriated:—

For a Priest to sing Divine Service	104s.		per annun.
For an Obit	4s.		,,
For a Sexton's Wages	7s.		,,
For Rents resolute	11s.		,,
For Bailiff's Fee	6s.	8d.	,,
	£6	12s.	8d.

These certificates are of great interest and are well worth printing.—ED.

[1] St. Nicholas Crypt, Bristol, by John Taylor, Esq., printed in the Journal of the Archæological Association.

and making fine and ransome to the king." In 1481, Curfew was ordered to be rung with one bell at nine in the evening, for half a quarter of an hour, under pain of two pence. The Curfew is still rung at St. Nicholas, at nine o'clock every evening.[1]

The passage over the old bridge, and through the gate of St. Nicholas, in consequence of the increase of the traffic, had, in the middle of the last century, become inconvenient and dangerous; consequently, in 1762, the gate was removed, and the church also down to the vaulting of the crypt. It was slowly re-built, being finished only in 1769.

Besides the benefactors to the city of Bristol, whom we have before mentioned, we ought to notice Alderman John Whitson, who was twice Mayor, and four times represented the city in parliament.[2] He was the founder of the "Redmaid's" School. He died in 1629, and was buried in the crypt; and there are two monuments to his memory erected at different periods. One is beneath the Tower at the west end of the church, the other in the crypt. The latter was erected in 1741. It bears an effigy, which is remarkable as shewing a cut in the face, and commemorates an attempt to murder him by a man named Callowhill, the alderman having given him offence by an award which he gave against him in some dispute.

[1] St. Nicholas Crypt, Bristol. [2] Nicholls's Life of Whitson.

APPENDIX.

Certificates of CHANTRIES, COLLEGES, &c., COUNTIES OF GLOUCESTER and BRISTOL.

Dated 14th February, 2nd Edward VI. No. 22.

Communicated by SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.

CHANTRIES IN THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

The Parishe of Seynt Nicholas, in the foreseid Citie, where the howselynge people is DCCC.

EBORARDE LEE FRENCHE CHAUNTRIE, ffounded by the said Eborarde, by license of King Edwarde the third, for iiij prestes to celebrate, videlt.ij in the seid Churche of Seynt Nicholas and the other ij in the Chapell of Radcliff, there to singe Dyvyne Service, & praye for the tranquyllitie of the seid King and the seid ffounder's sowle, & all christian solles. Incumbents.—Sir William Smytheman oon of the two in Seynt Nicholas Churche, of the age xlij yeres, havinge no other livinge, but onlie his salarie, which is yerely vj li. The Rome of the other Priest in the seid churche is voide. Lewes Morgan, oone of the two priests in the aforeseid Chapel of Radcliff, of thage of lx yeres, havinge no other prouision butt his salarie, being vj li. William Bonor, the other priest in the said Chapell, of the age of xxxiij yeres, havinge besides his salarie of vj li, oone yerely pencion of c.s. of the King's Maiestie. Their iij salaries amounte to xviij li. The landes and tenements belonging to the same are of the yerely value of xxxiiij li. xvij s. viij d., whereof in Reprises yerelie xliiijs. vijd., and so Remayneth clere ly the yere xxxij li. xiijs. jd. Plate and Juelles belonginge to the same in Seynt Nicholas Church, estemed to be xij ouncz, xlviijs. The Ornamentes thereunto in the seid Church, valued att xviijs. ijd. Ornaments thereof in Redcliff Churche, valued at xxvs., Plates or Jewelles thereunto in that Church, noone.[1]

OURE LADIE SERVICE OR CHAUNTRIE, ffounded by oone William Spencer, to fynd and maynteyne a priest to singe in the seid churche for ever, there to be at all Divyne Service & assistaunte to the curate & other in mynystracion of the Sacraments to the grete multitude of people in the said parish.[2] Thomas Gwynne,[3] Incumbent there, of the

1 William Symthman, Lewis Morgan, and William Bonor, were each granted pensions of 100 s.

2 According to the number of "howselynge people," (Communicants) as stated above (800), the population at this time would have been about 1300.

3 Thomas Gwyne was granted a pension of £4.

age of l yeres, havynge noe other livinge or promocion then the seid service, which is yerely vj li. The Landes and Tenementes belonginge to the same are of the clere yerelie value of vij li. iijs. whereof In Reprises yerely nil, and so remayneth clere by the yere vii li. iijs. Plate and Jewelles noone, Ornaments therunto belonginge, valued att xviij s.

The Chapell of St. John Evangelist, otherwise called Knape Chapell, within the seid p'ish., ffounded by oone Thomas Knape, to fynde and maynteyne in the same Chapell ij priests for ever, there to celebrate & synge daylie Dyvyne Service, & praye for the Sowle of the seid Thomas & Agnes his wife. Sir David Thomas,[1] Incumbente of the same, of the age lj yeres, havinge noe other livinge or promocion then in the seid Service, which is by the yere vj li. The rome of thother prieste now voide. The Landes and Tenements belonginge to the same are of the yerely value of xxj li. xvs., whereof in reprises yerelie xlix s., and so remaynethe clere by the yere xix li. vj s. Plate and Jewelles to the same, noone. Ornaments thereunto belonginge valued att xxvjs. vd.

Spicers Chauntrie, ffounded by oone Richarde Spicer, for a priest to Synge in the seid parish Church for ever, & oone yerely obitte to be there kepte. William Hunte,[2] Incumbente there, of the age of xl yeres, havinge noe other livinge then in the seid service vij li. xvij d. ob. The Landes and Tenements belonginge to the same are of the yerelie value of xij li. iiij s., whereof in reprises yerely v s. vj d., and so remayneth clere by yere xj li. xviij s. vj d. Plate and Jewells to the same, noone. Ornamentes valued att xv s. x d.

A Chauntrie, called Crowde Service, ffounded by divers well disposed persons, for a priest to Synge in the said parish Churche, within the Crowdes there for ever. Incumbente noone, nor sythens thannunciation laste. The Landes and Tenements belonginge to the same are of the yerely value of vj li. xij s. viij d. whereof in reprises yerelie xj s., and so remayneth clere by yere vj li. xx d. Plate and Jewells to the same, noone; Ornamentes valued att xlix s. ij d.

The Chappell or fraternitie of the assumpcion of Our Ladie, ffounded by dyverce persons, and the landes geven by severall deedes to the Master and Brethrens of the seid ffraternytie, or Brotherhood, to these ententes and uses, partelye to and for the fyndinge of a priest to Synge Divyne Service in the seid Chappell for ever, whyche Chappell is within the parishe, and distante from the parishe Churche abowte a Butte shoote, and partelie for the ffindinge of certeyne priests and clerkes to singe masse every Saterdaie in the same Chappell, & to kepe dyverce obittes, and to distribute certeyn money to the poore people and prisoners, and also the rest of the issuez and proffittes of the seid landes (theis thinges done) and the quyte rentes paied, to be wholie converted and bestowed towarde the maynteynance & repayrynge of

1 David Thomas granted a pension of 100 shillings.

2 William Hunte, granted a pension of 100 shillings.

the Bridge of Bristowe aforeseid, piers, arches, and walls there for the defence thereof agaynste the Rages of the Sea, ebbynge and flowing daylie under the same. Thomas King,[1] Incumbent there, of thage xliiij yeres, havinge no other livinge then in the seid service, by yere vj li. The landes and Tenements belonging to the same are of the yerelie value of xxvij li. vj s., whereof in Reprizes yerelie iiij li. xiij s. A Bailiffe's fee graunted by patente for terme of life, by yere xxvj s. viij d. To the poor yerelie, x s., and so remaynethe clere by yere xx li. xvj s. iiij d. Ornamentes and Goodes thereunto belonginge, valued att vij li. xi s. ; Plate and Jewelles to the same xx ounces. Leade wherewith halfe the chappell is covered, esteemed at iij ffooder.[2] Rentes valued att lxij s.

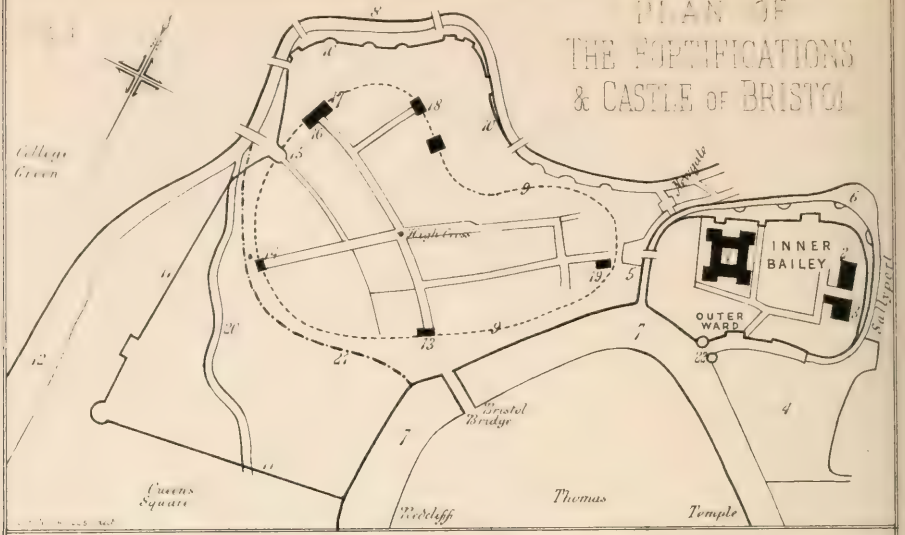
1 Thomas Kynge granted a pension of £4

2 The weight of a ffooder was about 19½ cwt.

N.B.—The several pensions above mentioned were appointed and confirmed under the Great Seal, 20th June. 2nd, Edw. VI., and Letters Patent, Tested at Westminster, by Richard Sakewell 1st Sept. following.

Boss, mentioned ante p. 170.

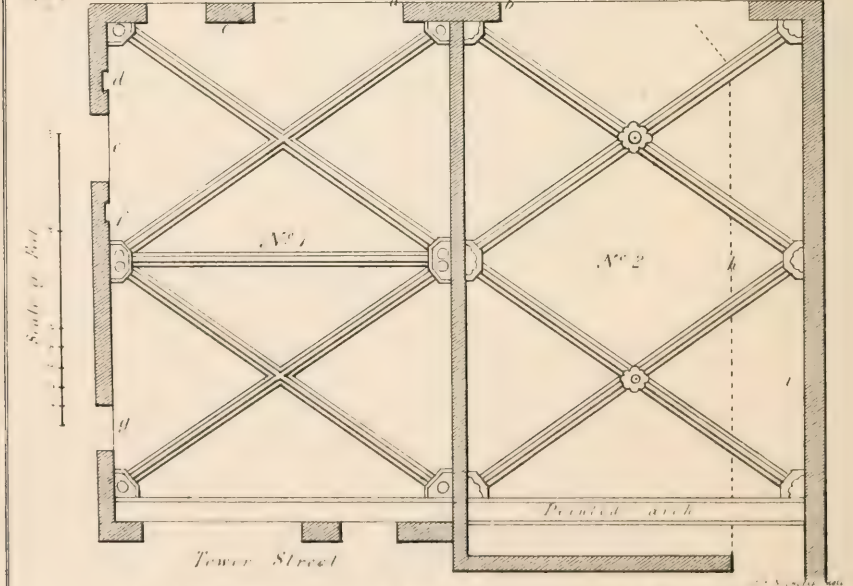
PLAN OF THE FORTIFICATIONS & CASTLE OF BRISTOL



1 Keep	7 River Avon	12 Trench, cut 1247	17 - St Johns Ch	
2 Kings Chapel	8 - " Frome	13 St Nicholas Ch	18 - Steeple	
3 Banqueting Hall	9 1st Wall destroyed	14 St Leonards Ch	19 - St Peters Ch	
4 Kings Orchard	10 2nd " "	15 St Giles Ch	20 Natural Course of Frome	
5 Barbican	11 - 3rd " "	16 St Lawrences Ch	21 Ditch & Mill Leat from Frome	
6 Millpond			22 Water gate	

GROINED ROOF OF TWO ROOMS IN TOWER STREET

WITH GROUND PLAN



a a Chapel Archway
b b Hall &c
c Pier from later doorways
d Aumbry
e New door from Hermitage to Chapel
f Piscina
g Stair door
h Modern box like Room
i Passage

Lavars. Lith. Bristol

BRISTOL CASTLE,

By J. F. NICHOLLS, F.S.A.,

Chief Librarian of the Bristol Free Libraries.

The origin of this Castle is involved in obscurity, and its early recorded history is so interwoven with the ingenious fabrications of the poet Chatterton, that Romance is often confounded with Reality. Situate on an eastern spur of the hill on which the ancient walled burgh of Bristol stood, the Castle appears to have been, originally, an elongation of the defences in that direction, but before the end of the 13th century, under the Norman rule, it assumed the character of an independent fortress, unconnected with, outside the walls of, and domineering over the burgh (*See plate* VI., *fig* 1.) It may be described as under :—Between the Castle and Bristol stood the Barbican, on the site now occupied by a china shop, at the junction of Peter Street and Castle Street, and it extended nearly to St. Peter's Church. Between the barbican and the fortress a deep artificial dry ditch intersected the hill from the Avon to Newgate. This foss, crossed by a draw-bridge, was of the width of the second house in Castle Street, and ran along the front of the two houses known respectively as the Bear and Ragged Staff,[1] and the Cat and Wheel.[2]

At the corner of Castle Green, where the School-house now stands, the ditch and wall bent round to the N.E., until they reached the bottom of the hill. Here a leat of the river Frome formed the foss, whilst from its edge rose the lower north wall to

[1] This was Leicester's device. He was Lord High Steward of Bristol, from 1570 to 1588.

[2] The Catherine Wheel.

a height of from 20 to 30 feet, and from the platform within this a second wall was raised to an additional height, in some parts, of 20 feet.

Portions of this wall still remain, and with the rooms therein, will be hereafter referred to. At the N.E. angle of this wall was the millpond, in which stood the cucking-stool, for the punishment of bad brewers and scolding wives;[1] the Castle mill stood outside the ditch.

From the millpond another artificial cut led the Frome waters, along the eastern wall of the outer ward of the Castle, as far as Old Market Street, (the course is now under Lower Castle Street). From Market Street the moat was carried round towards the west. It runs diagonally under four houses, forming the south side of Castle Street, and then emerges as an open water-course. It may be seen from the bridge in Queen Street at a great depth below, and it soon after joins the river Avon at the spot on which, originally, stood the Water-Gate. The space thus enclosed by foss and a crenellated wall with towers, contains about $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres; but outside the foss, on the south-east, at the junction with the Avon, was the King's Orchard, or Garden, having an area of 2 acres, this was surrounded by a "bastyle."[2]

[1] Edward Mountjoy, whilst Mayor, in 1718, punished a woman in this manner, and after the expiration of his year of office, the husband of the woman brought against him an action of battery and recovered damages; thenceforth the stool was discontinued. (Evans' Chron. Hist., p. 259).

NOTE.—Some further information upon this point would appear to be desirable The punishment was strictly legal, and we believe it still to be. The Pillory for male offenders and cucking-stool for females were essentially appendant to the franchise of "view of frank-pledge, or leet:" inquest was ordered to be made respecting the sufficient provision of both, by the statute assigned to 51st Henry III. c.6. *Possibly*, the mayor was found not to possess the franchise which would have authorized him so to punish. The earliest mention of this mode of punishment for female offenders occurs in the laws of Chester in the time of Edward the Confessor, as stated in Domesday, Vol. I., p. 262 b.; and among the "*Capitula Escaetrie*," one of the duties of the Eschaetor is declared to be inquiry "*de pilloriis et trumbellis sine licentiâ Regis levatis*" (Stat. of the Realm, Vol. I., 201, 240). See the learned notes of the late Mr. Albert Way, on this subject under CUKSTOKE and KUKSTOLE. Prom. Parv.—ED.

[2] Worcester, an embattled wall, without towers or foss.

Stow tells us that as early as A.D. 915, Edward built a Castle at the mouth of the Avon. Bristol is frequently described as thus situate by old writers, although it is some seven miles from the actual mouth. The Castle here mentioned would, we imagine, be merely an earthen vallum and agger fortress, but we look in vain for any remains of this, or of any castle of a higher character, between Bristol and the mouth of the Avon. Assuming, then, this hill to be the site spoken of it is natural to suppose that as the Burgh grew additions would be made to its Castle, and as the use of stone for fortification became more common, it would assume, even in Saxon days, an aspect of importance for defence.

We fear the "Death of Ælla, in Bristol Castle, A.D. 920," must be ascribed to the poetical imagination of "Bristol's marvellous boy," but we learn that Aylward Sneaw was Governor of Bristol Castle, A.D. 980, and that he built a second wall, which, beginning at the Jewry under the north wall of the ancient burgh, embraced all the low-lying suburb bordering the river Frome, and followed its course to Aylward's Gate at the Pithay, thence running due east until it ended at Newgate, at the foot of the hill under the Castle[1] (*See plate* VI., *fig.* 1).

That Brictric was Governor of Bristol Castle at the time of the Norman Conquest is an historic fact. All his possessions, including the Castle, were given by the Conqueror to Maud, his Queen. Henceforth, while the Tower of London became the King's Castle, Bristol Castle appears to have been frequently included in the dower of the Queens of England. After Maud's death, Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, was Constable of Bristol Castle, and held it for Robert Curthose.[2] In 1089, William Rufus granted the Castle as a part of the Honour of Gloucester, to Robert Fitzhamon,[3] his cousin. After his death, Robert, an illegitimate son of Henry I., called "the Consul," upon marrying Fitzhamon's daughter, Mabel, obtained the Castle, and was created Earl of Gloucester. He so improved the fortress, that Leland was not far wrong when he said "He

[1] Barrett, 36. Evans, pp. 30-1.

[2] Seyer, I., 328. [3] Ibid I., 341.

builded ye Castelle of Bristowe, or the most parte of it. Every man Sayith that he buildid ye great square stone donjon, and that ye stones thereof came out of Caen, in Normandie." "He also encompassed the whole with strong walls," and divided the outer from the inner ward. Its dimensions are given in 1480, by Worcester,[1] from the porter of the Castle as follows, "The tour called the dongeon ys in thykness at fote 25 pedes, and at the ledyng place under the leede cuveryng 9 feet and dimid. And yn length este and weste 60 pedes, and north and south 45 pedes, with iiij toures standyng upon ye fowre corners. And ye hyest toure, called the mayn, id est myghtyest toure aboue all ye iiij toures, is v fethym hygh abofe all the iiij toures, and ye wallys be yn thykness there vi fote." This keep stood between the site of Castle Green and Castle Street.[2]

During recent excavations for building, a part of the foundation, and the mouth of the great well, were uncovered.[3] Beneath this keep was the dungeon, to which air and light were admitted by an aperture in its roof, the entrance to it was by a trap door, and a steep flight of steps in the thickness of the wall.

The Grand Hall, or Banquetting House, stood on the east side of the keep, across the green. The deed of sale by King Chas. I., A.D. 1630, calls it a Mansion House, and specifies 43 other tenements, some at least of which were then tenanted by leading merchants It measured 36 yds. × 18 yds., and the height of the walls was 14 ft.[4] Like most early Halls, its lofty roof was

[1] p. 148.

[2] It is needful, perhaps, to say these streets have been made since the Castle was destroyed.

[3] Since this was written the well has been cleared out, and some objects of interest have been discovered. Bones and skulls of goats and sheep are among the articles found, together with a human skull, supposed to be that of a young woman; also several 17th century porcelain jars, many stone cannon balls (five-pounders), and others of the largest size known in the 17th century as "Canon royall," or 63 pounders. Such also as were used in sieges and garrisons have been recovered from the materials with which the well was filled. The well was found to have a smooth cylindrical bore, 10 feet in diameter, and 40 feet in depth. Water was reachedat 30 feet.—ED.

[4] Dallaway's Worcester, 155-6.

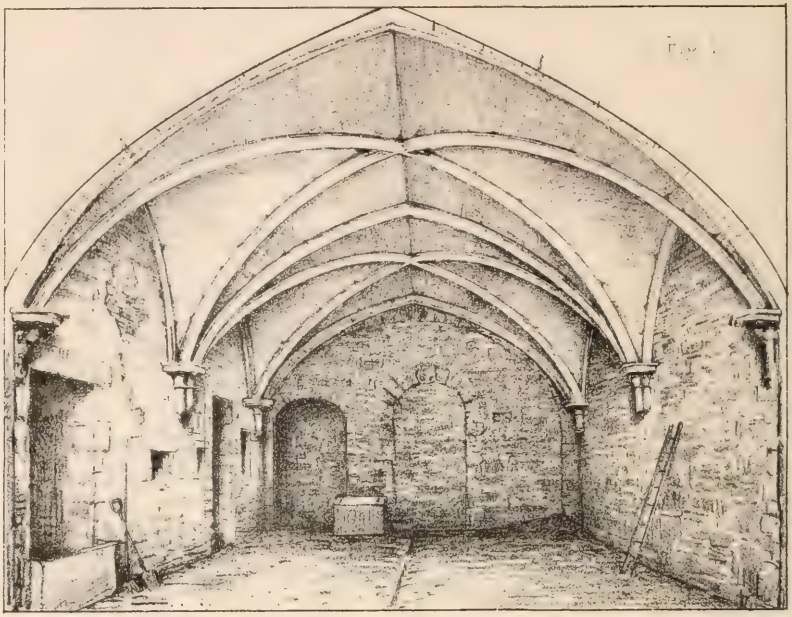


Fig 2
E. C. Lavers
Lavers Lith Bristol

upheld by wooden pillars; of these, two, of ruinous condition, were "45 feete, of hole piece;"[1] the roof, therefore, must have been of very steep pitch.

On the north, adjoining this Banquetting Hall, was the King's Chapel. Traces of the entrances to both these buildings remain, but additions of later and different dates have been erected outside them. We will take the entrance to the Chapel first (*See ground plan, plate* VI., *fig.* 2, *a—a*). In the corners of the east wall of what is now a stable in Tower Street, there are the remains of two freestone door-jambs, with short pillar shafts and capitals, forming a part of the door-way, and a small portion of the springing of a Norman segmental arch; the width is between 14 and 15 feet. This once grand entrance was subsequently divided into two smaller doorways, one 4ft. 4in. in width, the other 7ft. 8in., and these again have been since roughly filled in. Only a few feet to the south, in this same wall, there is a fine segmental arch of Norman construction, with a good deep label (*See plate* VI., *fig.* 2, *b—b*). It is about 10 feet wide, is thickly encrusted with lime-wash, but carries, apparently, traces of dancette moulding beneath. These ancient entrances led, it is presumed, to the Royal Chapel, and to the Banquetting Hall.

Outside the arch *a—a* has been constructed a building about 24 feet by 18 (*plate* VII. *fig.* 1). The plainness of the groins (half octagonal), which spring from short corbel shafts, with very simple mouldings and the almost entire absence of ornament, indicate a very early date. There are, in addition to the alterations noted in its eastern wall (*plate* VI., *fig.* 2 *a—a*), some striking features in its northern, a large aumbry, a doorway, 4ft. 4in., broken through, cased with freestone, a small piscina, and a smaller doorway, 2 ft. 4 in., having its freestone lintel beveled to a feather edge, to admit, apparently, of the ascent of a steep staircase. Seyer thinks this was the vestibule to the banquetting hall,[2] but the "piscina" proves this to have been a chapel. Our opinion is that this was originally the entrance to the Royal

[1] Dallaway, 149-156. [2] Seyer, vol. I., p. 385.

Chapel, converted afterwards into a hermitage by Henry III. A document, recently discovered, strongly corroborates this view, it is "a Code of Instructions," signed at Berkeley, Aug. 28th, 34th. Henry III., in which the King enjoins the mayor and bailiff to lengthen three of the windows of his chapel, and to whitewash it throughout; also glass windows are ordered to be put in our hall at Bristol, a royal seat in the same hall, and dormant tables around the same, *to block up the doors of the Chapel beside our great Hall there*, and make a door in *the chancel towards the Hermitage; in that Hermitage make an altar to St. Edward*, and *in the turret, over that Hermitage, make a Chamber for the Clerk*, with appurtenances; also build a Kitchen and a Sewer beside the said Hall; and find the wages of a certain chaplain whom we have ordered to celebrate divine service in the chapel of our tower there, all the days of our life for Eleanor of Brittany,[1] our cousin; to wit, 50s. per annum.[2]

Outside the other archway (*plate* VI., *fig.* 2, *b—b*) with the dripstone label, which was, apparently, the entrance to the Hall, is another, and more beautiful room, about 24 feet long, and 13 feet high from the present floor, which is 2 feet above the street level. It is of Early English construction. The round, deeply hollowed, ribs spring from clustered wall pillars with bosses at the intersection of the cross-springers. The capitals are foliated, a light string course connects them around the wall, the bases are below the flooring (*See plate* VII., *fig.* 2).

The whole is so encrusted with limewash that minor details are concealed, and only the graceful contour of capital and arch remain to gratify the eye. Even this is greatly marred, a room like a box, has been built up within, leaving only a narrow passage to a courtyard behind.

In the courtyard, about 10 yards distant, is a Newel staircase, in the exterior wall, about 30 feet high; the steps, of Caen stone,

[1] Forty years did this unfortunate Princess spend in captivity, the greater part of the time in this Castle.

[2] Taylor's Book about Bristol, p. 180 (from Parker's Dom., Arch. I., 226.

were so worn that they have recently been cased with wood. The whole area, hereabouts, is honeycombed with cellars, some of which have recesses for lamps, and one, at least, the remains of Norman freestone mouldings to a window jamb.

Next door (to No. 1 room) are two fine doors, one bearing the mark $\frac{P^{T}E}{1697}$, the other is an iron-bound wicket.

Relics of the 17th century abound in this neighbourhood, notably, some in the house now in the possession of Mr. Vowles, builder, in which Champion manufactured his famous Bristol china.

In the North Wall, overlooking the Frome, and about 12 or 14 feet above the water, there are two vaulted stone rooms of great wall thickness, dimly lighted; the hollow sounding floors cover, no doubt, some subterranean dungeons. These rooms which are accessible from the roadway that now covers the Frome ditch, are about 7 feet above the present level, and a recent doorway, driven through the wall, shews the masonry to be of very early date. Whatever they were intended for, originally, whether guard-room, store-room, offices, or prisons, these apartments have undergone some curious alterations; a narrow staircase in the wall has been built up, and a gardrobe runs down one of the dividing walls.

On the southern side of the area were the lodgings of the soldiers, the governor's house, &c., &c.

At the house of Mr. Pingstone, No. 56, Castle Street, a rough stone stair in the wall leads down to a large wagon-roofed apartment overlooking the south ditch, converted in the early part of this century into a place for the manufacture of salt. Enough remains to prove it to be a veritable portion of the early structure. Situated, 20 feet, at least, above the ditch, beneath its floor there are hollow sounding tokens of other subterranean rooms.

Along this south wall were built several bulwarks and bastions, and at the junction of the Frome ditch with the river Avon stood the great Water Gate, through which, when besieged by his

Queen and the men of Bristol, King Edward II. and the younger Spencer escaped in a little ship, and tried to get away to Lundy.

There is no mention of the Castle in the charters of 1373, by which the town of Bristol was granted the franchise of a County distinct from Somerset and Gloucestershire; the perambulations surround it, yet it continued to be a portion of the Royal Demesnes, and to belong to the County of Gloucester until A.D. 1630, when, Charles I. sold it to the City of Bristol for £959,[1] *at the request of our well-beloved Consort, the Lady Henrietta Maria, Queen.*" It then became a part of the County of Bristol, held in free soccage, and not in chief or knight's service, at a yearly fee-farm rent of £40.

The Castle was slighted, by order of Oliver Cromwell, in A.D. 1654, December 21st. Every householder had to assist or to find a substitute. The destruction was heartily undertaken by the people, and was completed in a fortnight.

The record of the many noble and royal prisoners, that from time to time have been confined in this ancient Castle, would fill a volume of no inconsiderable size.

[1] The Castle and premises had been previously granted on lease for three lives at a yearly rent of £100, to Francis Brewster. Patent dated August 23rd, A.D. 1626.

NOTES ON THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY REDCLIFFE.

By REV. J. P. NORRIS, B.D.,

Canon of Bristol, and Vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe.

Strangers do well to approach St. Mary Redcliffe by the narrow defile of Redcliffe Street. And this for two reasons:—First, because the grandeur of the site is better appreciated from this point of view than from any other; secondly, because what there first meets his eye is the most ancient portion of the building, and thus he enters upon the study of the church in its historical order.

We suppose ourselves, then, to have traversed the long dark winding avenue of Redcliffe Street; we may have noticed, if we peeped down the lanes on our right, that we were following the bank of the ancient channel of the river Avon all the way; and we may have been told that the houses on that side were once the residences of Bristol merchants, the sons and grandsons of men whose wealth was made in the woollen and cloth trade, so zealously encouraged by Edward III., and who were in the fifteenth century building and fitting out ships, to make ventures where, from this port, Sebastian Cabot had led the way. The gardens behind these Redcliffe-Street mansions then sloped down pleasantly to the river. Conspicuous among them was the residence of William Canynges,[1] some chambers of which remain behind Mr. Jefferies' book-shop. Of him more hereafter.

We must now suppose ourselves to be emerging from this long narrow street at its southern end. The view suddenly opens, and on a rising greensward slope, or rather on the rocky platform

[1] I adopt William of Worcester's mode of spelling our great Merchant's name with a final "s."

which the grass conceals, there stands, towering above us to a height of nearly 300 feet, the massive steeple of St. Mary's Church. "Massive" is the right word. As seen from this point the massiveness of the lower stages powerfully impresses the mind. It may group in dimensions with England's stateliest Cathedral towers, being as large in section as the central steeples of Lichfield or Chichester, and loftier than either. It is seen, too, to far greater advantage than any of our Cathedral towers; for, whereas they all rise from roofs which conceal their lower stages, the Redcliffe steeple, as viewed from the North, is seen to spring from the very ground; so that we are permitted to contemplate it, in all its beautiful symmetry, as a complete work of art, separate from the church to which it is attached.

This is one secret of its beauty; the other is that its lower portion, thus brought near to the eye, belongs to the very purest epoch of English architecture. It must have been begun while Bishop Poore was building Salisbury Cathedral, at the commencement of the thirteenth century; suspended awhile—for there are indications of a temporary roof, in the ringers' loft; resumed when Henry III. was re-building Westminster Abbey Church; and completed to the spring of the spire, while Edward I. was erecting his memorial crosses, at the close of the same century. It will be seen to consist of three distinct stages or storeys. The first and second are divided by a band of niches (now filled once more with statues, sculptured by Mr. Rice); the beauty of their gabled canopies cannot fail to please the eye. Above these there is a string-course of quatrefoils; and here the *Early English* work ends. In the storey above we note the transition to the *Decorated* or *middle-pointed* style. The third storey is occupied by a magnificent peal of Twelve Bells; the triple-belfry windows, under highly ornamented ogee arches, are of fine proportions, full of details which remind us of the Chapter House at Wells. The tracery of the niches is, here as at Wells, carried round the buttresses, giving a richness to the whole effect, which—thanks to the simplicity of the proportions—does not weaken the impression of solidity and strength. So bold is the projection of the buttresses

that the lines of the spire, if carried down to the earth, will all be found to fall within the footing of the Tower. While the strength of the Tower, as in appearance so in reality, is enormously increased by the magnificent pinnacles or sconces—each of them big enough to be a town-cross—tightening all the joints of the quoins.

Until the last few years, the Tower was crowned, as we all remember, by a truncated spire, rising only 30 feet above the leads, that is, a few feet above the tops of the four pinnacles; and this truncated spire was crested with a parapet of quatrefoil tracery, now lining the path at the bottom; the total height being 144 feet,—only half its present height. When the completion of the spire was undertaken, the question was much discussed whether there ever had been a perfect spire,—some maintaining that the fourteenth century builders had abandoned the idea of finishing the spire, fearing that the tower, weakened by their new work on its south side, would not bear it. On the other side, however, there is the repeated statement of William of Worcester in his *Itinerary* (written between the years 1470 and 1480), that there was a spire, of which the upper portion had recently been thrown down by a thunderstorm, leaving a truncated steeple, 200 feet in height, surmounted by what he calls a "garland." Why this very plain statement of an event which happened when the writer was 30 years of age and living in Bristol, should be discredited, I do not know. The fact that at St. Paul's tide, 1445, a great storm threw down a portion of the spire is mentioned also in the annals of the city, and in a manuscript preserved in the Bodleian library, quoted by Barrett and Britton. This side of the controversy is well maintained by our librarian, Mr. Taylor, in a very spirited paper on Redcliffe Church, contributed to the "Saturday Review" of Nov. 10, 1877.[1]

William of Worcester assigns a much greater height to what was left of the spire than it showed in our days; but this is

[1] Mr. Taylor has shown me a narrow roll of vellum, on which is a chronicle of magistrates and remarkable events, copied apparently from the Registers of the Kalendaries. Under date 1446 is the following entry:—"This yeere Redcliffe Steeple was throwen dowen with thunder, and did much hurt in divers places."

explained at once by his own statement, that its diameter at the point of fracture was 16 feet; for its diameter across the top, as we remember it, was 22 feet: clearly, therefore, the spire had been subsequently further lowered for safety's sake; this may have been long after Worcester's time, for the parapet surmounting it in our day was of Bath stone, whereas all the 15th century work was of Dundry stone. Worcester's "Garland," or coronal, I take to have been a wooden structure, supporting a cross which he elsewhere mentions.

As we proceed we shall find architectural reasons, confirming these documentary reasons, for supposing that in the earlier half of the 15th century some great catastrophe befell the western portion of the church. Believing, then, both on documentary and architectural grounds, that there was anciently a complete spire, I pass on in pursuance of the historical order to which I have pledged myself.

Standing, where we left ourselves, at the end of Redcliffe Street, we next notice a superb North Porch, adjoining the tower, eastward; approached from the lower level by a stately ascent of steps. This is the famous Porch, about which so much romantic interest has gathered in the last hundred years.

One hundred years ago all the London Clubs, and all the Magazines were discussing the question whether the poems of that marvellous boy, who had just put an end to his feverish life in a London garret, had really been discovered in the top chamber of that Porch, or were they forgeries? If they were forgeries (as we have all now come to believe), then the genius of that son of the Redcliffe School-master was (as we are no less willing to acknowledge) one of the most precocious and marvellous that England ever produced. There the boy Chatterton stands in his Blue-coat-School dress, on yonder pillar in the church-yard. And in an old oak chest, with six locks—called "Canynges' Coffer,"—in the Muniment room of this Porch, he professed to have found the MS. poems which he published as the work of one Thomas Rowley, a Bristol priest, and friend of the younger William Canynges, in Edward IV.'s reign.

Looking at the hexagon Porch, as we now see it, with its sharply-cut tracery, exuberance of florid ornaments, delicacy of matted foliage, you would scarcely believe that thirty years ago it was as ruinous as Melrose. But so it was, till an unknown benefactor, signing himself "Nil Desperandum," undertook its restoration. From 1848 to 1854, the work proceeded, under Mr. Godwin's direction, in Caen stone, all the carving being entrusted to Mr. Rice, a "master mason" worthy of the task. And now it stands once more before us in all the luxury of its original design, though wanting the sculptured kings who once encircled it.

The builder in Edward II.'s reign seems to have resolved to give Redcliffe Church a more sumptuous avenue of approach than was possessed by any of our Cathedrals. And certainly no one can have entered the brilliantly-lighted Church, on a winter Sunday evening, up these twenty steps, and through this magnificent vestibule, without carrying away an impression that he will never lose. Passing through it, we see that but for its three doors it might be taken for a Chapter Room, and that the true Porch is within, forming a link between the exterior hexagon and the body of the church. This inner Porch is, in an antiquarian point of view, the most interesting part of the whole building. It is older, by a hundred years, than the outer Porch; and, as we shall soon see, is in the purest style of Early English Architecture. Its deeply moulded doorway, its arcade on Lias shafts, the deep undercutting of its leafage, the simple quadripartite vault, all determine its early age.

But now a very interesting question forces itself upon us:—This excellent Early English Porch must have originally led into an Early English Church: What has become of it? Are any traces of it discoverable? What were its dimensions? None of the printed accounts of Redcliffe Church that I have seen attempt to answer these questions. And yet there are traces of this thirteenth century church, this church not of the Canynges, but of the Berkeleys, as Mr. Taylor teaches us to call it. this *Church*

No. I. as for our present purpose we may safely call it—for we shall see that three distinct churches have occupied this site,—and of this Church No. I. there are, I believe, discoverable indications enough to show its height to have been 40 feet from pavement to vault, *i.e.*, 14 feet lower than than the present No. III. Church. To discern these traces we must pass into the Nave, and turn to the right. Standing in the westernmost bay, by the old Font, and looking north, we have before us, of course, the south wall of the Tower, of Early English date, and pierced by an Early English arch, lately re-constructed of narrower span than it was before to strengthen the S.W. pier of the tower. Well, above this arch, in the old masonry of the tower wall, may be seen an *Early English* corbel and clustered shaft, (*see fig.* 18) from which groining ribs may once have sprung. The present groining ribs spring from a *Perpendicular* shaft stilted on this Early English Capital; but that the groining once rested on the lower capital is plain, for on either side, in the ashlaring of the wall, the arches of the groining may be traced (indicated in the sketch). The crown of these groining arches is $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the pavement; and allowing $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet for the rise to the centre of the vault, we get 40 feet for the height of the Church No. I.

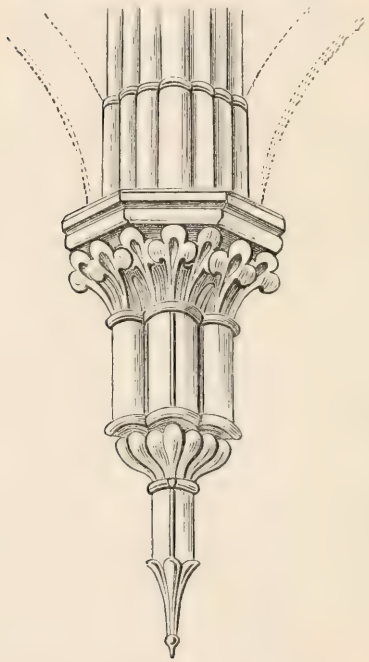


Fig 18.

Two other indications that this was the height of the thirteenth century church may be mentioned:—one is to be found in the fact that the external work of the south face of the Tower is carried down below the present lead roof of the Nave, and may be seen

in the loft; and the other indication may be seen in what appears to be the commencement of a corbelled parapet, under a nook-shaft in the corner of the east face of the tower, to be seen from the roof of the Porch (*see fig.* 19).

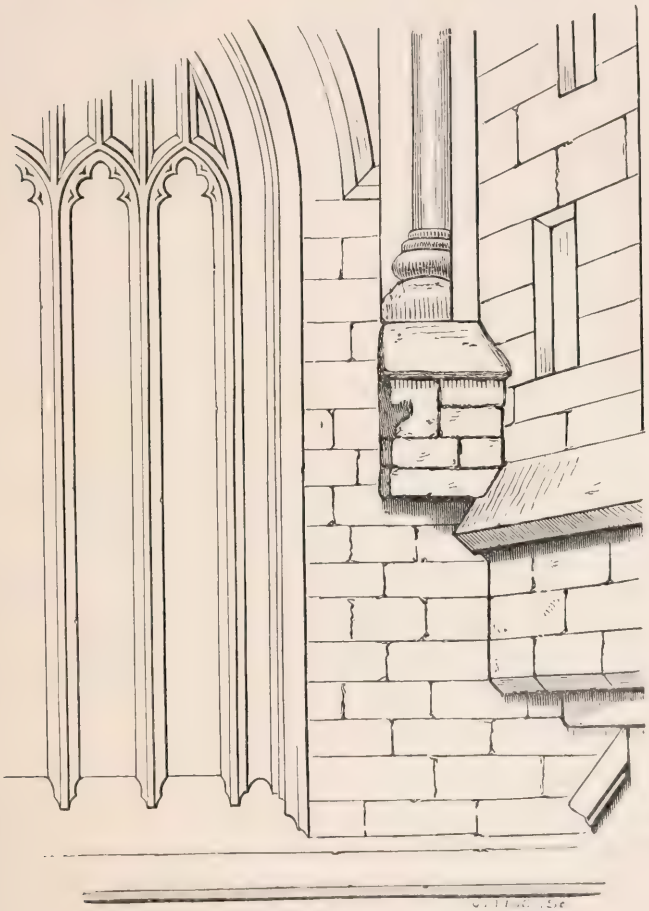


Fig. 19.

Except these few tell-tale marks left on the face of the ancient Tower, we have, I believe, no traces of this thirteenth century structure; but that such a church was being built in that century is proved by various Indulgences granted to those who would

contribute to its building, dated 1232, 1256, 1278, and found by Chatterton in Canynges' chest. As he gave them to Barret, who recites them in their original latin, we need not doubt their authenticity. Still earlier, in 1207, 1229, 1230, we hear of bequests being made for the repairing of a church then standing. For reasons that will appear in the sequel, I believe this Early English Church extended as far eastward as the present church; but except some worked stones found by Mr. Rice, built into the later Chancel Vestry, and now to be seen in the church-yard, all remains of it have perished. There is not, I believe, any trace of it in the crypt beneath the North Transept. Passing over the romance of Simon de Burton,—how when King Edward kept his Christmas at Bright-stow, on his way to the Welsh wars, and proclaimed a joust of arms on Redcliffe Hill, the youthful de Burton vowed a vow to our Lady, that if he threw that puissant knight, Sir Ferrars Nevylle, he would there build a new church to her honour,—passing this over as a dream of Chatterton, we come to an entry in the Mayor's Calendar, under date 1376, that "William Canynges built the body of Redcliffe Church from the Cross-aisle downwards." This was the grand-father of the more famous William Canynges; and the record seems to be authentic. If it be so then we have documentary evidence of a Church No. II., of the Edwardian, or *Decorated* style, superseding all but the *Chancel* of the Early English Church, for we observe it was the Transept and Nave which this elder Canynges is said to have built in the new style of the fourteenth century.

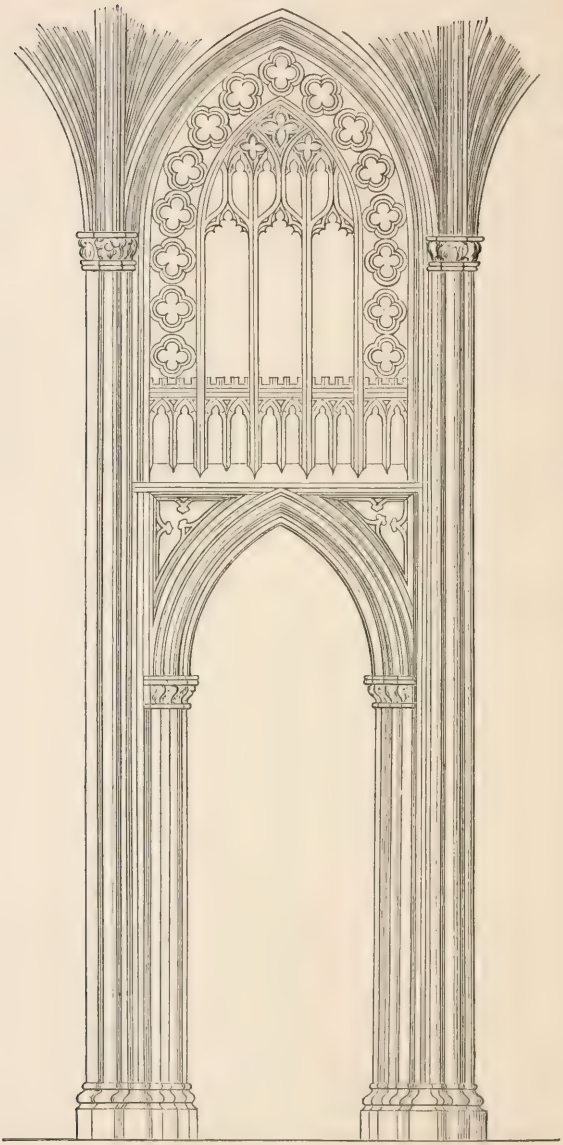
Let us pursue our walk round the interior of the church, and consider whether we find any confirmation of this statement. We were standing by the Font, at the west end. Looking up the middle aisle from that point, not a vestige of Edwardian architecture is visible; not a trace, therefore, of this Church No. II. of fourteenth century date. But let us turn into the South Aisle, and examine its wall, as we walk leisurely towards the Transept. We notice, at once, that though the window tracery is of more recent insertion, yet the window openings have rounded corners, whereas the windows of all the other side aisles are sharp-

cornered. We notice, too, that though the groining is very late indeed, yet it does not fit the wall-shafts on which it rests, as though the wall was older. We notice, thirdly, that the wall contains stellated monumental recesses of the true Berkeley type, therefore, clearly of the same date as those in the Cathedral and Berkeley Church, of Edward III.'s time. Against this wall, too, is built a magnificent South Porch, which, though much mutilated by a false ceiling and intrusive chamber above, with modern staircase, is plainly of the late Edward III., or *Transition* period.

Passing through this Porch and into the churchyard for a moment, we observe that the pinnacled buttresses of this Porch may have been suggested by the very noble pinnacled buttresses which strengthen the south face of the South Transept; and this South Transept is seen at once to be of older date than the rest of the body of the Church, for its walls are devoid of the *Perpendicular* panelling which covers all the rest of the clerestory.

Re-entering the church, and examining the interior of this same South Transept, we find further evidence that it dates from the latter half of fourteenth century, *Decorated* passing into *Perpendicular*. The tracery of its very beautiful south window is distinctly *Decorated*; for Bristol Cathedral teaches us that *Decorated* windows may be transomed. The clerestory windows (*see fig.* 20., *p.* 202) rimmed so very peculiarly with quatrefoils[1]—giving the appearance of a window within a window—are again of *Decorated* character passing into *Perpendicular*. Further, we notice that though the walls have been raised externally to range with the rest of the church, yet, internally, the groining is some four or five feet lower than the groining of the Nave and Choir. And lastly, we observe that the piers of this Transept, *and one adjacent pier of the Nave*, have their *base-mouldings* much *lower* than those of the rest of the church; and that these lower base-mouldings are continued in the responds of the South Aisle of the Nave, right down to the west end.

[1] A window of like design may be seen in the side-aisle of St. Mark's Church, College Green.



(Fig. 20.)

Thus we arrive at the conclusion that nearly the whole of the South Transept and the south wall of the Nave, belong to some-

what older date than the rest of the body of the church. Here, then, may be what remains of that work of the times of the elder Canynges, of which our Mayor's Calendar told us "He built the Church (it said) from the Cross-aisle downwards," at the close of Edward III.'s reign.

To a middle period, then, ranging over the whole of the fourteenth century, and spanned by the lives of Simon de Burton and the elder William Canynges, may be ascribed the Belfry stage of the tower, the sumptuous outer Porch, the South Transept, and a Nave, of which the side wall and South Porch alone survive.

If any one hesitates to give so early a date to the South Transept I would ask him to compare the Bay shown in *fig.* 20 with the Bays of the Decorated Choir of Lichfield Cathedral. That Choir is of Edward II.'s reign. Each Bay is divided into two storeys, the lower occupied by the pier-arches, the upper by a lofty clerestory, *without any triforium storey.* The high sills of the windows receive the lean-to roof of the side aisle, as here;[1] and the parapet in front of the sills is (if I remember aright) battlemented as the window sill is at Redcliffe. Moreover, curiously enough, the splayed jambs of the windows are lined with a band of quatre-foils, running right round, just like that which we see in the tracery of the windows before us. All these points of resemblance seems to warrant us in ascribing the same date to both structures.

But if we assume that a Transept and Nave of the later Edwardian period superseded the Early English Transept and Nave of the Church No. I., two questions immediately arise :—

1st.—Of what sort was the Chancel of this Church No. II.? That a Chancel it must have had is plain; no church-builder would have begun building a Transept, unless a good and sufficient Chancel were already standing to the eastward of it. Of what kind, then, was this Chancel? We answer: it was, in all proba-

[1] The Naves of York, Winchester and Canterbury, show how this tendency to absorb the Triforium into the Clerestory, by continuing the vertical lines of the Clerestory down to the arcade, was beginning in the latter half of the fourteenth century.

bility the Early English Chancel, belonging to the Church No. I., which, from its sanctity and sufficiency, the Edwardian builders left standing. To this older Chancel, 40 feet in height, they added their somewhat loftier Transept and Nave, with a difference of about 10 feet in the height of the vault. Thus, I conceive, that at the end of the fourteenth century, the whole of the Early English Church, except the Chancel, had been removed; and the Edwardian South Transept and Nave were at any rate in process of construction, though, perhaps, not quite completed. And this I call the Church No. II.

2nd.—But now I come to the second question :—Why was this Church No. II. so soon—so very soon—superseded by a Church No. III.? Before half a century had elapsed we find the grandson and namesake of William Canynges re-building the Church from end to end, in the Perpendicular style of architecture, sparing only the South Transept and South Aisle wall, and South Porch of his grandfather. Why, and how was this? The answer is forced upon us :—Some catastrophe must, in that interval, *i.e.*, in the earlier half of the fifteenth century, have befallen the new building; some catastrophe which necessitated the re-building of the middle aisle of the Nave at any rate. And precisely such a catastrophe (as we have seen) is recorded in our documents.

Our documents record that in the year 1442, William Canynges (then Mayor of Bristol for the first time) was employing masons "to edifie, repayre, cover and glaze the Church of Redcliffe, which his grandfather had founded," (or rather *had partially re-built*) "in the days of Edward III.:" and that three years later—just as he was thus finishing the Church No. II.—in the year 1445-6, "at St Paul's tide," there came that thunderstorm and the fall of the spire. The upper portion of the spire came crashing down; where did it fall? Clearly not on the east side, for the North Porch adjoining the tower on that side escaped unhurt. Where should a spire fall but on that side where it is weakest; and the Redcliffe tower must have been weakened on its south side by the alterations of the Nave. On the south side, therefore, it fell, ruining the Nave for many bays. Any other

parish than Redcliffe, any other man than William Canynges, would have been utterly disheartened by such a ruinous misfortune to a church on the very eve of completion. But this God-fearing man was only stimulated to greater efforts. That he loved the church is evident, for he had founded chantries in it; and, for the residence of the five chantry priests, he had already built a small college in the churchyard, like the Vicars' Close at Wells, on a small scale. He now built another set of chambers on the opposite side of Redcliffe Hill for "freestone masons," who were to be employed in re-building the Church. At the head of this band of masons was one Norton, well known to William of Worcester, who often mentions him; he seems to have been a man of genius, the real master-builder of the church as we now have it.

But there was another mind, I am very sure, concerned in the re-building of Redcliffe Church—a mind from which William Canynges drew many of his inspirations—John Carpenter, a native of Westbury-on-Trym, and, at that time, one of Oxford's rising ecclesiastics, was Canynges' friend and confessor. He was already Provost of Oriel; and in the year before this thunder-storm he had been made Bishop of Worcester, in which diocese Bristol then was. He was well known as a church-builder; witness the fifteenth century work of St. Mary's Church, Oxford, which he is said to have designed; he also re-modelled and re-built the ancient Benedictine House at Westbury-on-Trym, of which he persuaded William Canynges to be the first Dean, when in later life the latter wished to retire from the world. That one who exercised so large an influence over Canynges should have ardently encouraged, if he did not first suggest, the design of re-building the Church of Redcliffe on a yet grander scale than ever, is surely probable. That a highly-gifted mind, filled with the beauty of Worcester Cathedral Church should wish to see something of a like kind realized here, by means of the great wealth of the friend he so often visited in Redcliffe Street, is also natural. But, be this as it may, it is clear that William Canynges resolved, not merely to re-build the portion of the Nave that had been ruined, but to carry on his new work from end to end of the church—removing

for this purpose the Early English Chancel, which by this time may have become dilapidated.

Let us conceive, distinctly, the task which Canynges proposed to his master mason, Norton. It was to re-build the middle aisle of the church, from east to west, throughout its length, and to bring the Transept into harmony with it. The old Choir, as we have said, had to be entirely removed. But the comparatively recent Transept, completed by his grandfather, needed no removal. Nor was it necessary to re-build either the North or South Porch of the Church; neither had been damaged by the fall of the spire.

The one thing that Canynges, or his friend, Bishop Carpenter, or the architect, Norton, or whoever it was that inspired the conception,—for that one mind conceived and controlled the whole work is clear,—the one thing that this master-mind insisted on, was, that there should be one long and lofty vault of uniform height, supported on uniform shafts, which should spring from the very pavement, without break. This seemed to him essential to give that lengthened perspective approach to the High Altar, which constitutes the processional beauty of the church.

How is this accomplished? Let us first notice that the whole length consists of thirteen almost uniform bays, each bay being 15½ feet in length, (East and West) and 22 feet in width (North and South) between the piers. I say "almost uniform," for though the lierne groining of the nave is conspicuously different from that of the chancel, yet both one and the other have seven ribs converging on each pier, and descending in a clustered shaft to the base-mould throughout.

Now let us observe what the Master-builder did when he came upon the Transept. All his piers elsewhere were entirely new constructions, as is evidenced by the level bedding of their masonry. But when he came upon the South Transept he was unwilling to take down the four piers which terminated that Transept, for they were constituent parts of it. He therefore gave them a new north face, so as to bring them into harmony

with his own work. And the dissimilar bonding of the masonry on the two faces shows that they have been meddled with; which cannot be said of any other piers of the church.

But how about the *North* Transept? At a first glance one might suppose that the north limb of the Transept was of the same date as the south limb. But further examination will soon persuade us, that although meant to correspond to it in general effect, yet it is really of later construction: even its great window, though a very close imitation of the south window, could not have been made from the same moulds. Neither in the north arm of the Transept, nor in the Crypt on which it stands, is there (so far as I am aware) any trace of work earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century.

And now we arrive at the Choir, where Canynges, probably, commenced his work of re-construction. I infer this, not only because church builders usually began at the east-end and built westward, but also because the groining of the vault is an adaptation of the older groining pattern of the Transept, whereas the groining of the nave shows a far more complicated design; indeed this latter (the nave vault) may be approximately dated by William of Worcester's help; for he tells us that, in 1476, the groined ceiling under the tower was *quite new*; and its pattern is the counterpart of that in the nave: so 1470 is about the date of the completion of the Nave roof. The groining of the side aisles of the Nave roof seems to have been still later, when both skill and taste were declining.

That the High Altar of the church stood where it now stands is proved by the hagioscopes commanding it from the Transepts. Behind it passed, as now, a processional path; and then a wide arch under the east window leads us into the Lady Chapel. This Lady Chapel seems to have been originally of one Bay only, with stair-case turrets at its corners. The second Bay, built upon an undercroft, seems to have been an afterthought.

On the north side of the chancel north aisles, are chambers of three storeys for sacristan or chantry priests. And from one of

them (used now as a vestry) there is a modern stair leading down into the Crypt beneath the north Transept. In this Crypt there are wardrobes for copes.

Having now made the circuit of the church, and tried to form to ourselves some distinct notion of its history, and how it came to assume its present form in the fifteenth century, it is time that we gathered up in a few words its most characteristic features.

In the first place it should be noted that it is cruciform; and, not only this, but so long is the cross aisle that it suggests the idea of two churches, intersecting one another at right angles. Secondly, it has side-aisles *throughout*, with flying buttresses. Not many of our great churches have this full complement of aisles. York, Ely, Winchester, and Wells, among our Cathedrals; Westminster and Beverly among our collegiate churches are double-aisled throughout. This seems to lift Redcliffe at once into the first class. But another feature seems to exclude it from the Cathedral type of Church, I mean the absence, not *only* of a Triforium, but even of the horizontal string-course or tablement, which should separate the clerestory from the arcade below. It will be observed that the vertical panelling of the clerestory descends down upon the unfinished arch mouldings of the Nave and Chancel (in the Transept it appears). This is, perhaps, to be regretted. Another weak point in the general design is the want of accentuation of the external corners of the building—both at the east-end, and still more, perhaps, at the north end of the Transept. Looking at the nobly conceived buttresses of the South Transept, and at the yet more glorious beauty of the Belfry, one cannot repress a wish that William Canynges and his Master Mason had lived a century earlier, and had built the whole church in that more noble style.

Still, compared with other fifteenth century buildings, the body of Redcliffe Church wonderfully avoids their faults. No one can say it is a mere frame-work of panelling. No one can say it leaves an impression of having been made by machinery. It shows signs of genius, and of free-handling throughout. And it has a richness, and a picturesqueness of grouped parts, and a depth

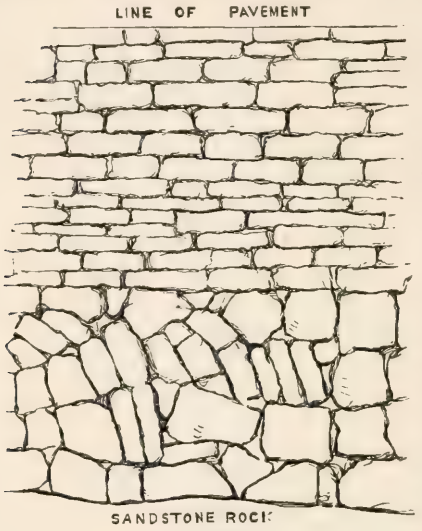
of shadows which its contemporary, King's College Chapel, at Cambridge, may well envy.

Of its restoration in our days, under Mr. Godwin's direction, it is enough to say that no preceding generation of merchants, since Canynges' time, would have cared to do it, and no generation of workers in stone, between Norton and William Rice, would have had the skill to do it. That we have regained the skill and mystery of building beautiful churches is something; that we have once again in our hearts the desire to build them is cause for thankfulness. It only remains that we use them daily, dutifully, and reverently, for God's glory.

Gravestone in S. Mary Redcliffe Church of William Canynges' Cook.

APPENDIX.

Before beginning the re-construction of the Spire, in 1870, Mr. Godwin wished to examine the foundations of the Tower, and for this purpose the ground was excavated on one side down to the rock; and the face of work thus exposed to view was fortunately sketched by Mr. Rice; of this sketch I subjoin a reduced copy (*fig.* 21.) It shows first lumps of Pennant stone, with no cement whatever, and with interstices into which the arm might be thrust, but so wedged that settlement is impossible. Then coursed masonry of lias, without cement, bedded in sand, then four or five courses set in cement; then the pavement of the floor.



(Fig. 21.)

HEIGHT OF TOWER AND SPIRE.

	Feet.	Inches.
Foundation of uncemented lumps of Pennant	3	8
Courses of Lias up to Pavement	5	6
Tower, pavement to lead	110	0
Spire	151	0
Cap and Finial	6	4
Vane and Cock	15	6
TOTAL	292	0

INTERVAL MEASUREMENTS.

	Length.	Breadth.	Heighth.
Nave	127	56	54
Chancel	77	56	52½
Lady Chapel	42	24	26
Transept	116	43	50

Total length of Church { Internally 246. / Externally 258.

References to the Churches and other Buildings in Bristol

1 Redcliff, St. Mary	12 Christ Church	23 Chapel of St. Mary
2 Chapel of the Holy Ghost	13 St. Stephen	24 St. Clements Chapel
3 Priory of St. John	14 St. Ewen	25 Lavandery
4 Hermitage	15 The High Cross	26 Frome gate and bridge
5 Canynges house.	16 Pithay and latrines	27 St. Bartholomews hospital
6 St. Thomas	17 Guildhall & St. Georges ch.	28 Chapel of the 3 Kings
7 Temple Holy Cross	18 St. John	29 Priory of St. Mary Magdalene
8 Chapel of St. John	19 St. Lawrence	30 St. Michael
9 St. Nicholas	20 St. Giles	31 Franciscan Friary
10 St. Mary le port	21 St. Leonard	32 Carmelite Priory
11 All Saints	22 St. Werburgh	33 St. Augustine the less

In the above list a distinguishes those buildings no longer existing

ON THE MANORIAL HISTORY OF CLIFTON.

By Alfred S. Ellis.

The importance of Clifton, as the chief suburb of Bristol and as a fashionable "watering place," is of so recent a date that the history of a rural parish such as it was before, can hardly be of much interest. Such interest, however, as there may be, is certainly enhanced by its present remarkable development. When Sir Robert Atkyns wrote his History of Gloucestershire, he did not foresee the future of this parish, which, probably, did not interest him much, because there was no ancient resident family of any importance nor historic seat, within its bounds. He did not take any trouble about tracing the descent of *the* manor; and no other work contains anything but a few unconnected statements, except Fosbrooke's history of the county, which is confused and incomplete.

The present paper is an attempt to supply the deficiency to a certain extent.

I have said "the" manor, for although there appears to have been another manorial estate within the parish, I refer to the lay one, with the patronage of the church of St. Andrew, anciently annexed to it, showing that the foundation and endowment was made by one of its early possessors.

As might be expected, the first record, which mentions this manor, is that venerable and minute survey of the realm called "Domesday Book," ordered by William the Conqueror, completed and laid before him at Winchester, apparently when keeping Easter there in 1086

Under Gloucestershire, in Vol I., folio 170, column 2, we read :—

LXXV. *Land of Roger fitz Ralph.*—In Sineshoved Hundred.

by name Clistone

Roger fitz Ralph holds one manor, ∧(of the king in capite), which Sewin, the provost of Bristou, held of King E(dward), and had been able to go with this land where he wished, nor did he owe thence any feorm. There (are) 2 hides. In demesne are 3 plough-teams and 6 villanes, also, 6 bordars, with 2 plough-teams. There (are) 3 serfs and 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 100s., now 60s.[1]

Such are the interesting particulars which the first record, referring to Clifton, gives, and it is evident, therefrom, that the township had a very small population, even at this date. We may infer that the first settlement here, whether by a single family or by two or more, from the name it acquired, did not take place until post Roman times. There is no evidence to show that there were any descendants remaining here of those pastoral tribes to whom the earthworks may be attributed.

These settlers made the first *tûn* or enclosures near *the cliff* meaning, rather, that one over-hanging the river at Mardyke than St. Vincent's rocks ; and the position first cultivated was, probably, that round about where the church stands. It cannot

[1] In Sir Robert Atkyns' history of the county, and subsequent books, another passage in the Survey has been supposed to relate to Clifton ; and the above was overlooked, perhaps, because the name had been spelt, by clerical error in that instance, Cliston.

The Survey mentions "In Chire and in Clifton, x hides." (fol. 163) which *seem* by the context, but it is by no means clear, to have been acquired by the abbey of Cormeilles in Normandy. This is supposed to refer to Clifton and *Shire*hampton—but I think rather to Clifton (upon Teme) and Chir (Kyre), which, with other lands thereabouts, are mentioned in the Register of Worcester, as having been unjustly wrested from the see by the Danes in the time of King Ethelred (Mon. Angl., orig. ed. I., 128). If so, this passage is strangely misplaced in the Survey, and the 10 hides registered as if parcel of the royal lordship of Westbury (on Severn, *not Westbury-on-Trym*). Shirehampton would rather have been 'Hampton' than "Shire," had it been mentioned in the survey.

Clifton Old Church

be told now, whether in remote times there had been a community here with equal share rights over the arable fields, the common of pasture, the meadow down by the river, and the waste; or, whether from the first there had been a proprietor or lord, with dependants.

Clifton, we learn from the Survey, had belonged to King Edward the Confessor, and was held of him by Sewin the reeve ('provost' 'prepositus', the Norman scribe wrote) of Bristow, with the special privileges of being non-resident if he chose, and of not making any return in the way of rent, or providing a night's entertainment, or rendering any share of the produce of the land as "*feorm.*"

I do not think this estate belonged to Sewin in his official capacity as burgh-reeve of Bristow, but it may have been a royal reward for special service, or even an estate of inheritance. It seems to have been held of the King rather than of the crown. Sewin had privileges which "freemen" did not usually enjoy, for in the Survey we read of two who held two hides in Barton (Regis) of that royal lordship, but yet were *not free* (!) to leave their lands and retain possession, which was just what Sewin was at liberty to do, if he liked. Of course the estate was subject to Danegeld, and was rated for this tax at 100s. Sewin, however, if non-resident, would have a bailiff here, and the inhabitants and lands were in his time, no doubt, much what they were when the Survey described them. The dwellers were of three classes, but none of them free to move out of the manor. The lowest grade the serfs (servi.), were the servile labourers on the demesne, who, would pass in transfer with the land, they and their children, like the cattle. The villans, a name introduced by the Normans, were *originally* the farm servants of the Roman *villa.* The bordars were rather so called because they were tenants of cottages '*bords*,' than because they provided the lord's table, '*board*,' with poultry, eggs, and the like, as Bishop Kennet and others have supposed. There were 6 *bordars* here, and they had two ploughs, with which, no doubt, they worked 'the field' of the township.

The villans and bordars were represented long after by the copyholders of the manor. The town shepherd and the neatherd belonged to one of these classes.

At some remote date, the surrounding waste or "no man's land," between this township and the neighbouring ones, was being lessened gradually—except, of course, on the river side—as more land was required for the wants of the increasing community, until it was, at last, necessary to define those limits where they *met* their neighbours; thus, 'metes and bounds' were naturally developed, and then mutually determined by old trees, or stones, and other lasting memorials. The neighbours, in this case, were the tenants of Henbury—a member of the Bishop of Worcester's great lordship of Westbury—and the men of the township of Billeswyck, afterwards included in the bounds of the liberties of Bristow, probably, in the time of Henry II., when the abbey of St. Augustine was founded in this suburb. The boundaries of the township have remained, probably, for ages unaltered, and are described as:—down the river Avon, from the Sandbrook to "Walcame," or rather Walcombe Slade, as "the gully" was, in former days more appropriately called, *i.e*, the slippery path through the combe of the (hot) well. Then up the combe and over Durdham down, as still indicated by merestones, to a spot indicated by a remarkable hawthorne, and thence to a merestone between the chapel of St. Lambert and the king's highway. This chapel must have stood somewhere not far from the "Black Boy," and a few cottages were on the road-side. The boundary then followed the road towards Bristol, as far as "Smockacre," where it crossed over the fields, from the White style to "Dedystone style," on the road from Bristol to Clifton then along the road, westerly, to where it separated from Woodwell lane—which the boundary now followed down to the river—past the wood-well or St. Jacob's-well, and, side by side with the "Sandbrook," which was, no doubt, mainly the overflow of this spring.

It appears, at the date of the Survey, that Clifton was in the hundred of Swineshead, but these component parts of counties

were afterwards much simplified; and when this was done this parish must have been transferred to the hundred of Barton Regis.

It seems in 1085-6, the commissioners learnt from the jury of the hundred and others, that a manor, by name Cliftone, was then held of the king, by one known in the neighbourhood simply as "Roger fitz Ralf," a Norman beyond all doubt, and himself or his father the grantee. He was returned, also, as holding another manor in this hundred, but no one appeared to give either its value, or even its name, which makes it very clear that the possessor himself was not present, even the name of Clifton was a subsequent interlineation. This, it seems, was the whole estate held *in capite*[1] by Roger, who was, probably, a younger son of Ralf de Berchelai (Berkeley), and if so, therefore nephew of a very important and trusty personage in this county, namely, Roger de Berchelai, who, besides having acquired a considerable estate of his own, farmed the King's Barton near Bristol, and also the great royal estate of Berkeley, of which he was provost, and where he resided. There is no evidence that the elder Berkeleys were a "Saxon family" as Smythe styles them. The probability is they were not; but as no local Norman name has been used by any of the family we cannot tell where they came from. But Roger de Berchelaico and Rissa, his wife, were about this time benefactors to the Abbey of St. Martin d'Auchy, near the town of Aumâle, in Picardy, giving vestments, a silver chalice, a golden cross, and two bells, besides other things (Archæologia, vol. 26, p. 359.)

Roger fitz Ralf, we find, resided at Clifton, for he kept 3 plough-teams in demesne, therefore, the usual amount of arable for the oxen to work. There were also six villans and 6 bordars with two more teams. The 8 acres of meadow must have been down by the river in Rownham Meads.

The manor was rated at 60 shillings, 40 less than in the Confessor's day; showing that the country had not yet settled down, though nearly twenty years had elapsed since the Conquest,

[1] Roger, a vassal of Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, lord of Bristol, may be the same person. He held lands of the bishop in Dodington, also in Somersetshire, among them, 7 hides in Long Ashton.—D. B.

and the land here was not fully cultivated. The Survey does not speak of a church here, or a priest, or a wood. The silence of the record is not always proof. The advowson, however, is spoken of in the next record, so the township had become a parish. Whether Roger left heirs or not, cannot now be discovered; nor what relationship, if any, the next recorded possessor of the manor bore to him. This was William de Clifton who gave the advowson to the Abbey of St. Augustine, recently founded in the immediate neighbourhood by the local magnate of the time Robert fitz Harding.[1] We may reasonably suspect, from his goodwill to the institution and its founder, that William de Clifton had espoused, like him, the side of the Empress, with the Earl of Gloucester, in the recent struggles.

This gift was confirmed to the canons by his son and heir, John de Clifton,[2] but he, too, was dead before 1168; for by the Black Book of the Exchequer, we find Elias de Clifton, who will have been John's brother or son, then returned by William, Earl of Gloucester, as holding of him 3 knights' fees of the old feoffment, that is, he or his ancestors had held the same, at least, from the year and day when King Henry was alive and dead, namely, Sunday, 1st Dec., 1135; but nothing it appears had been added since.[3] We thus learn, that in the time of Henry I., Clifton had become parcel of the honor of Gloucester. The services of some of the lesser tenants *in capite* had, it would appear, been transferred to the Honor, when it was formed in endowment of the earldom, created by Henry I. for his natural son Robert. The three knights' fees, held by Elias de Clifton, we find, by a later document, were lands and manors in Clifton, and Radstock, and Easton-in-Gordano, in Somersetshire.

Elias died before 1199 and left an heir, who being a minor, his wardship had been purchased by William la Warr, but he

[1] Abbey Reg., quoted by Fosbrooke (fol. 18, 23), preserved at Berkeley Castle.

[2] Ib. fol. 25.

[3] Liber Niger Scaccarii (fol. 70), Hearne's ed. altera. I., p. 162.

dying that year his son Thomas la Warr, fined 40 marcs to have the further custody of the lands and heir until of age.[1]

From the la Warrs, who were a rich Bristol family, related to Robert fitz Harding, sprung a baronial house and the founder of St. Bartholomew's hospital in Bristol. This heir was Roger de Clifton, who, as "lord of Clifton, and son and heir of Elias," gave, by charter, to the Canons of St. Augustine, common of pasture in his manor of Clifton, and all the water courses between the croft and the house, which Adam his bailiff held, as far as the hill, and all the courses which were upon (or led to) the Canons' conduit at Wodewell, towards the hill, which they were at liberty to draw to their conduit from his land at Clifton; also liberty to have stone from his quarries at Clifton, to build anything within the abbey gate, provided they did no injury to his arable land or wood[2] By this very interesting document, we find that the Canons had already their water supply from a conduit on the Brandon hill side of Woodwell lane; but that the amount of water, it would seem being insufficient, they thus obtained licence to divert additional water courses from the other side of the road. The Sandbrook, no doubt, being greatly diminished by this abstraction. At this date, the woody and rocky valley, from this point down to the river, with its lane, side by side, with a lively brooklet and springs, must have been very picturesque; how different now!

At the top of the lane, near the old road from Bristol to the village of Clifton, must have stood the house of Adam the bailiff, close by the old quarry (now a closed burial ground), whence, probably, the stone was to come, which the Canons were at liberty to take.

The successor of Elias de Clifton, his son, probably, was Ignatius de Clifton, who, on the vigil of the Annunciation, 1239, was one of the witnesses of the important Covenant, made between William de Bradstone, Abbot of St. Augustine, and Richard

[1] Excerp. e Rot. Fin. I., 29. Rot. Cart, p. 25.

[2] Abbey Reg., fol 212.

Ailward, the Mayor and the Commonalty of Bristol, whereby the former agreed to sell that part of the Canon's marsh required for the proposed new channel for the river Frome.[1] But four years before, Ignatius appears to have been already in possession of the manor, for he gave to the hospital of St. Mark, at Billeswyck, then recently founded, a messuage, curtilage, and also a fountain of water, to be brought through his land, whither the brethren pleased.[2] When an inquest or survey of the honor of Gloucester was made, about this time, it was found that Ignatius de Clifton held 3 knights' fees of the same, in Radstock, Eston, and Clifton.[3] All else I have discovered about him, is, that in 1269, with Maria, his wife, he gave half-a-marc for an assise, to be taken before the justices *in itinere* in Devonshire, and a writ issued to the sheriff of that county.[4] Before this date, however, it seems the manor of Clifton had passed into the hands of Sir John St. Lo, of Newton St. Lo; for being dead in 1254, the custody of his heir and lands was granted to Master Roger de Cantelupe.[5] In 1275, we find a jury of the burgesses of Bristol, saying, in answer to one of the inquiries being made by certain royal commissioners, "that Roger de Cantelupe, formerly 'custos' of the manor of Clifton, twenty years ago, made there a certain warren, where the men of Bristol were accustomed to enjoy the right of common for the working cattle, by giving two-pence for each."[6] These were the oxen used in plough-teams and other farm work. It appears this warren had

[1] Seyer's Memoirs of Bristol, vol. II., p. 19.

This was the first time the Bristol people attempted to straighten either of their rivers. The old course of the Frome, before this alteration, is rather doubtful, but Seyer, who discusses the matter at length (chapter XII.), is, probably, correct in saying, that the old tradition known to Will. Wyrcestre, of the river having previously flowed by the line of St. Stephen and Baldwin Streets, is unlikely. The old river, no doubt, had been turned eastward by the hill on which the abbey stood, and this was cut through for the new channel. Previously, this hill seems to have been a gradual slope into the marsh, as far as the Merchants' Hall, as indicated in the map. The spur of St. Michael's Hill, opposite, probably, also caused another bend in the river.

[2] Barrett's Hist. Bristol, p. 367.

[3] Coll. Top. et Gen. 2, p. 169.

[4] Excerpta e Rot. Fin. II., 489.

[5] Ib. II., 197.

[6] Rot. Hund. I., p. 177.

been illegally enclosed in 1255. It was the result of these investigations which provoked the more famous Placita de quo Warranto.

Sir John St. Lo, who died in 1280, was the heir who had been a minor in 1254. There is nothing to say about him, in connection with Clifton, nor of his son, Sir John, who died in 1313.[1] The latter was the father of a fourth Sir John "Seyntlo," who, in 1346, obtained from Edward III. a charter of freewarren in Clifton (Newton and Publow, as well.)[2] He was one of the knights of the shire for the county of Gloucester, 1319 and 1322, but in the next parliament was returned for Wiltshire. His wife was Joan, sole child and heiress of Alexander Cheverel, of Maiden Newton in Dorset, who was 26 years old, and already married to him when her father died in 1310.

Their son and heir, Edmund, although a priest and parson of Backwell, in 1375, obtained from Richard II, in 1382, a new charter of free warren in Clifton, Newton St. Lo, and Publow, also Maiden Newton.[3] When he died, I have not discovered, nor whether Sir John St. Lo, his brother, outlived and succeeded him ; but the three surviving daughters and co-heirs of the latter inherited the manor of Clifton among the rest of the property, and it was held by their descendants in undivided thirds. It appears, by the fine of 1509, that the lands in Clifton, held by the lord of the manor, amounted to 300 acres of land, or arable, 60 acres of meadow, 100 acres of wood, and 200 acres of pasture, or two-thirds, nearly, of the area of the entire parish, namely, 910 acres. No mention is made of a capital messuage, or manor house ; but there can be no doubt the de Cliftons resided here, if not the St. Los. The wood was, apparently, in that part still called "Clifton wood."

[1] Collinson's account of the St. Los, of Newton St. Lo, in Somersetshire, is here followed without verification. Among the Additional Charters in the British Museum, may be found a few of their deeds. This Sir John's seal bears a shield with a bend, and label of 3 points ; Sir John, his son, as appears by his seal, used a label of 5 points. The name is derived from St. Lo in Normandy.

[2] Cal. Rot. Cart, p. 179.

[3] Rot. Pat. p. 2, m. 4

To return to the three daughters and co-heirs of Sir John St. Lo, who inherited thirds of the manor. The two elder, Joan and Ela (with Elizabeth, another, who had died young), had been found in 1361, Alice, their mother, being then dead, to be co-heirs also of their maternal grandfather, Sir John de Paveley, of La Broke, Westbury, Wilts, and then respectively aged 11 and 6 years. The third and youngest daughter of Sir John St. Lo Elizabeth, was by the second wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir John de Clevedon, junior, of Clevedon.

The esnecy, or eldest sister's share of the manor fell to Joan, who married first Sir John Chideock, of Chideock, in Dorset. After his death in 1391 (14th R. II.), she re-married John Rache; and they levied a fine of one third of the manor *and advowson* to Sir John Moigne, 15th R. II. He died seized of this third in right of his wife in 1410 (11th H. IV). She, however, survived till 1423, when her grandson and heir, Sir John Chideock, succeeded to this third, the further descent of which is obscure, and so unlike the second daughter's share, which we will now trace.

Ela, born in 1355, was first married when young to Thomas de Bradstone, grandson and heir of a Gloucestershire baron, and ward to Queen Philippa, and of the same family as an abbot of St. Augustine, who has been incidentally mentioned before. The Bradstone arms :—Arg., on a canton, gu., a rose or—may still be seen in a window of the Cathedral. He, however, died in 1373, when just of age, but Ela had a posthumous child by him, a daughter and heiress, married to Sir Walter de la Pole, nephew of Michael, first earl of Suffolk. Ela married, secondly, Sir Richard Seymour, lord Seymour, by whom, who died in 1401, she left three sons, Sir Richard, Sir John, and Nicholas. Ela survived him also, and by her will, dated 28th Nov., 1409, desired to be buried in Stavordale priory, near her lord.[1] Her son and heir, Sir Richard Seymour, died the same year, but an only child and heiress was posthumously

[1] A rough tricking of Ela's seal is given in Drummond's Brit. Families, 'Percival,' with the arms of Seymour, quartering Lovel, impaling St. Lo, quartering Paveley, with this circumscription :—"Sigillum Elae de Sancto Mauro dominae de Castlecari."

born to him in the house of Thomas Cressy, citizen and mercer of London, in Cripplegate, 23rd July, 1409.[1] She was named Alice, and was married to William, 5th lord Zouche of Harryngworth, but at that time her uncle, Nicholas Seymour, it seems, was holding the manor of Clifton under some settlement, or for a term of years. This third is, therefore, not named in the Inquisition held on the death of Lord Zouche, in 1463, but Katherine,[2] the widow of their son, lord Zouche and Seymour, held it in dower after the death of her husband, 8th January, 1469. Their son John, lord Zouche, aged then 8, was attainted, though a very young man, by Henry VII., in 1485, for his adherence to Richard III., even to the Battle of Bosworth. His honours and estates were declared forfeited at the same time, and the third of Clifton, among other lands, was granted to William Willoughby; but in 1509, after he had been restored to some of his estates by Henry VIII., soon after his accession, he, by the style of "John Zouche de Zouche, knight," being seized of one third of the manor of Clifton, and one third of 300 acres of land, 60 acres of meadow, 100 acres of wood, and 200 acres of pasture parcel of the manor of Clifton, with the appurtenances, conveyed the same to John Brook, and Joan, his wife, by fine, dated on the morrow of the feast of St. John the Baptist, 1509. This document closed the existence of this third, as will be seen, and we return to the share of the third daughter and co-heir of Sir John St. Lo.

Elizabeth married William de Botreaux, of Cornwall,[3] who died seized of this share in her right 25th May, 1394, aged only 26, nor did she survive him many years. They, however, left a son, William, born 20th February, 1390, who was summoned a baron by writ, from not long after he came of age until 1461, a space of nearly 50 years. We find this nobleman as "lord of Clifton," allowing the claim of the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Mark, at Billeswyck, to common of pasture for a bull, six

[1] Prob. Æt: Claus. 2nd H. VI., m. 12.

[2] She died 1471. Inq. p.m. 11th. Edw. VI., No. 40.

[3] For pedigree of the Baronial family of de Botreaux, see Sir John Maclean's Hist. of the Deanery of Trigg Minor in Cornwall: Vol. I., p. 641.

cows, and twenty-four sheep within the manor.[1] The seal of this rich and fortunate baron shows he used as supporters 2 *buttresses*, evidently in allusion to his name.[2] He died 16th May, 1462, aged 72, leaving by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of John lord Beaumont, K.G., an only daughter and heiress, Margaret, then more than 40, and wife of Lord Hungerford, but I cannot find that any interest in the manor of Clifton descended to her, though on the old church tower, built, apparently from the style, about this time, were two shields, one bearing the arms of Hungerford, 2 bars, and in chief 3 roundels; the other, "an eagle," but quere if not rather a griffin, the coat of Botreaux.[3] The advowson of Clifton, which so many years before this had been given to the abbey of St. Augustine, about this time was acquired by John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, a great benefactor to the collegiate church of Westbury-on-Trym, his native place, and by him given to it, with certain lands in this parish, which were styled a manor.

The manor, however, afterwards appears to have been in the hands of lawyers or lessees. William of Worcester, the early topographer, of Bristol, writing apparently in 1480, says ".....Broke, lord Cobham, is lord of the villule of Clyffton;" and Dallaway, his editor, in a note states that the "manor was afterwards granted to Sir John Chokke, the Chief Justice.[4]" I cannot prove the correctness of either statement. From William of Worcester's most interesting, but desultory note book we get the first particulars about the hermitage and chapel of St. Vincent, but so far as I am aware, the exact site is now unknown, and, unfortunately, our venerable topographer is rather vague. We gather, however, from his memoranda, besides the dimensions of the buildings, taken when he was there, Sunday, 26th Sept., 1480, that they were erected on some platform of rock in Ghyston cliff—about two-thirds of the way up, or 40 fathom above low water, or 124 steps, or thereabouts—and reached by a steep path from below. He speaks of a certain rock of Ghyston cliff, called "Breke faucit," standing out in the river and very dangerous to the navigation;

[1] Barrett, Hist. Bristol, p. 367. [2] Archæol. Journal., Vol. X., p. 335.
[3] Bigland's Glou. Collections. [4] Dallaway, Itin. W. of Worcester, p. 56.

as being "a bow shot from the rock and chapel of St. Vincent, towards Bristol."[1] "Ghyston cliff begins near the houses of Rownham passage,"[1] he says, "and extends to the hermitage and camp;" afterwards, he speaks of the camp as "not more than a quarter of a mile from Ghyston cliff."[2] Some site above the houses called the Colonnade, seems indicated by these statements.

There are, probably, some documents about the hermitage to be found in the Registers of the bishops of Worcester.[3]

Returning after this digression to the history of the manor. We find, in 1470, one third, probably Chideock's, in the possession of a wealthy citizen of Bristol, named Richard Amerycke, who had also been purchasing large estates in Somersetshire. However, by charter, dated the last day of August that year, he conveyed the same to John Broke and Joan, his wife, and the heirs of John, remainder to the right heirs of Hugh Broke. This John was a lawyer, and Joan, his wife, was one of the daughters and co-heirs of Richard Amerycke, who died 9th June, 1501. About this time, many shared lands with the involved interests of co-heirs, and entails were brought up by lawyers. John

[1] It seems the Canons of the abbey desiring a nearer way, than by Bedminster, to the Manor of Leigh, given them by Robert fitz Harding, established the passage of the river at Rownham, to which point there, no doubt, existed a bridle road from "Lymotes." The Canons must have obtained a grant or licence for this from the lord of the manor. This passage remained in the possesion of the Canons until the dissolution, held as parcel of their manor of Blacksworth, in Kingswood. Rownham, probably, signifies the weedy, or stubby enclosed pasture (Rowen-ham.) All the lands the Canons ever seem to have had in Clifton were three acres-and-a-half, given them by Abbot Burton (1534-7). Barret, p, 309 n.

[2] Itin., W. of Worcester, p. 47 and p. 57.

[3] The wooded heights with the umbrageous valley between, on the other side of the river, opposite the rocks, and so well-known in connection with Clifton, were in the Middle Ages possessed by two religious houses of Bristol. As early as the reign of Henry III., Alexander de Alneto, of Long Ashton, gave "Burwalls, on Ashton cliff," to the Hospital of St. Catherine at Bedminster (Collinson's Somerset, vol. II., p. 290). In the reign of Edward III., Edmund de Lyons, of Long Ashton, granted "Stokeleigh" to the abbey of St. Augustine. The camp on the northern headland bears this name still, and Nightingale Valley was formerly called Stokeleigh Slade (ib. p. 291). All this seems little known, though in the County history.

Broke was son of Hugh Broke, named above, the 8th son of Sir Thomas Broke, of Holditch court and Broke Ilchester, by the heiress of Cobham, in Kent.[1] Dallaway tells us "Canynges place," in Redcliff street, was the residence of John's father.

After the death of his father-in-law, from whom he had in right of his wife, the manor of Ashton-Philips, and other estates in Somersetshire, he bought another third of the manor of Clifton of Sir John Zouch, in 1509,conveyed by a fine as before mentioned; but the year previously, by charter dated 12th December, he acquired of John Oldemixon, demesnes, lands, and tenements in Clifton, held of the king as of the honor of Gloucester, at a rent of 7 shillings per annum, but worth £10, which, possibly, was the remaining third, or part of it, but not so stated. John Oldmixon, was of an old Somersetshire family, taking their name from Oldmixon, near Weston-super-Mare, where they remained long after this date. I believe it was the last family "of that ilk," as the Scotch say, in Somersetshire.[2]

John Broke, who thus became, apparently, lord of the entire manor of Clifton, was, as we learn from his brass, chief steward, or seneschal of Glastonbury Abbey, a serjeant-at-law to Henry VIII., and a justice of assize in the western circuit. He died on Christmas day,[3] 1525, and was buried in the chancel of St. Mary Redcliff, where his brass remains, representing him in the robes of a serjeant-at-law; also, until recently, the arms of Cobham and Brook, quarterly, with a crescent for difference, as well as Brook impaling Americk, viz.—Paly of six, or, and az. on a fess gu. three mullets arg. It is worthy of remark here, that the Brookes, as well as the Cobhams, are notable for their patronage of the Memorial Brass artists. The very spacious chancel of Cobham church, Kent, is literally covered with their brasses; there is, also, a fine one in Thorncombe church, near Axminster, to Sir Thomas

[1] Glover's Ped. Harl., MS. 645.

[2] In Ealing ch., Middlesex is a Monument to the last of the family—the son of the historian, "George Oldmixon, Esq., of Oldmixon, who died 15th May, 1779, æt. 68."

[3] Inq. p.m. says 26th Dec.

Broke, and Joan, his wife, the rich widow of Robert Cheddar, of Bristol.

It will be recollected that Sir John Oldcastle, the ill-fated Lollard, was one of the husbands of the heiress of Cobham, but not the father of her only child who married Sir Thomas Broke.

On the 25th September, 1526, an inquest[1] was held, after the death of John Broke, by the king's escheator for the county, pursuant to a writ of "diem clausit extremum," at "Barton Hundred, near Bristol;" as to the lands in the county of which he died seized. The return is very full, and most of the particulars about the manor of Clifton have been derived from it. The jurors say Thomas Brooke is his son and heir, and aged 36. Another inquest as to his lands in Somerset had been already taken at Bridgwater, on 16th September. Besides Thomas and two daughters at least, John Brooke left Arthur Brooke and Sir David, afterwards Recorder of Bristol and Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

Under the terms of the settlement and entail, John Broke's widow, Joan, succeded to the two-thirds of the manor of Clifton, as well as to the lands acquired of John Oldmixon. And it appears, by the inquest after her death, taken at Chipping Sodbury, 11th Dec., 1539, that she died seized of this estate on the penultimate day of September, 1538; Hugh Brooke being her grandson and heir.[2] Hugh Broke was the son and heir of Thomas Broke, who had died in his mother's lifetime, on 9th December, 1537, seized of lands in Long Ashton, Backwell, Portishead, and other places in Somersetshire, by Joan, his wife, daughter of Sir John Speke, of White Lackington, who had died on the 3rd November preceding her husband's death. By two inquisitions, taken at Keynsham, on 20th March, 1538, Hugh, was found the heir of his father and mother, and then 22 years of age, and upwards.[3]

[1] Inq. p.m., 15 H. VIII., No. 85.

[2] Inq. p.m., 31 H. VIII., No. 37.

[3] Inq. p.m., Thome Brooke, Arm. 29. H. VIII., No. 24—Inq. p.m. Johannæ Brooke, nuper ux., Tho. B. defuncti. A Thomas Broke, was sheriff of Bristol, 1512; mayor, 1526.

Hugh Brook lived at Lower Court, in Long Ashton, died in Feb. 1588, and was buried in the parish church, where there is a monument to him without inscription, over which, says Collinson, "hang his helmet and gloves." I have not found any inquisition after his death; but he left four daughters and co-heirs, who, with their husbands, severally sold their shares in Ashton Philips manor, about the end of the century, to Sir Hugh Smyth.

"*Three-fourths*" of the manor of Clifton, held of the Honor of Gloucester, by military service, and rent of £3 6s. 8d., were held by Andrew Whittington, gent. on the day he died: viz., 2nd May 1634; as we find by the inquisition taken, after his death, at Axbridge, on 18th Dec., following;[1] but how acquired, I have not been able to discover; but, probably, the shares of three of the above named co-heirs, and purchased from them. The heir was his son John, æt. 18.

Andrew, resided at Ivythorne, in the parish of Street, Somersetshire, and descended from a branch of the old Gloucestershire Whittingtons, originally of Whittington, near Cheltenham, of which was Richard, *four* times Mayor of London.

I have no further information about the history of the manor, but as the Society of Merchant Adventurers of Bristol, have been in possession for more than two centuries, it was, without doubt, purchased by them not long after this date.

At the dissolution of Monasteries, the manor and lands in Clifton, belonging to the College of Westbury, were, with it, granted by Henry VIII., to Sir Ralph Sadlier and Ellen, his wife, and the heirs and assigns of Sir Ralph, by letters patent, dated 24th March, 35th year (1544), to be held as the 20th part of a knight's fee, and 20s. rent for Clifton rendered at Michaelmas. Sir Ralph was a man highly favoured by fortune, he had been in the employ of the commissioner, Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and obtained grants of the lands of other dissolved religious

[1] I owe this to Coles' "Escheats" in the Bristish Museum, and discovered in that useful abstract, by means of the index to places. The original return in the Record office, is illegible from decay and damp.

houses; the site and lands of the Hospital St. Lawrence, without Lawford's gate, Bristol, among the rest. Henry VIII. appointed him master of the great wardrobe, afterwards a member of the privy council and secretary of state. He was made a knight banneret at the battle of Musselburgh, in 1547. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we read of him as custodian of Mary, Queen of Scots, when at Tutbury Castle, in 1585, and of being reprimanded for allowing her to go out hawking—sport, in which it appears, he himself, had great delight. He built a fine house for himself at Stondon, in Hertfordshire, where he died, aged 80 years, 2 years after. In 1546, he obtained an act of parliament, to legitimatise his children by Ellen Mitchell, "his wife," who had been a laundress in the service of Cromwell, his first patron; Matthew Barré, her former husband, being found to be alive.[1]

Sir Thomas Sadlier, his eldest son, succeeded to this estate, and died 5th January, 1606, leaving a son and heir, Ralph Sadlier, who, about 1659, sold the manor to Frances Chamber, widow. She subsequently married John Good, of Clifton, whose two sons, John and Arthur Good, sold it, in 1668, to Gabriel Deane, of Bristol, merchant, and Abel Kelly; and their descendants, sold the manor and manorial rights—retaining the lands—to the Society of Merchant Adventurers of Bristol.[2]

All public sources of information have not been exhausted for this paper, and many interesting particulars may yet be found by diligent research at the Record office. The Subsidy Rolls would give the names of the inhabitants at various dates. The institution of the vicars or curates, and, probably, some licenses referring to the chapels and hermitages, must be among the diocesan records at Worcester.

There are also, without doubt, charters, court rolls, and other ancient documents in the archives of the present possessors of the manorial rights, which, it would be desirable to see printed in the Transactions of this Society.

[1] See portrait of Sir Ralph, pedigree, and other particulars, in Clutterbuck's Herts. III., p. 226. Barrett's Hist. of Bristol, p. 539; and life, by Sir Walter Scott.

[2] Hand-book of Clifton, by A. J. Knapp, p. 14.

As to the old parish church, entirely removed in 1822, we learn from Bigland's Historical, Monumental, and General Collections for the County, that it was dedicated to St. Andrew; consisted of a nave and two aisles, rebuilt in 1654; but that the old tower remained, and had on it two shields, one, with two bars and, in chief, two roundles; the other, an eagle displayed. From a drawing in Skelton's Etchings of the Antiquities of Bristol, this tower was evidently an ordinary Perpendicular one, of, say, the latter part of the 15th century, and may, very probably, have been built by Margaret, Lady Hungerford as has been suggested in this paper. Bigland gives the monumental inscriptions in the church and churchyard, but none of them are of any interest or antiquity. He also states that "the parish register *is* a very fair manuscript, commences in 1538, and has been since kept with laudable accuracy." On the first folio, was the memorandum of the metes and bounds of the parish; quoted in this paper. The first volume of the register, however, is now only an old attested copy of the original, and was given to the parish by a Mr. Skelton, of Oxford.

In the accompanying map, I have indicated the old paths which led to the church, from the four corners of the parish, but as I had no ancient Survey to guide me, I was not able to put in any more detail, such as sub-divisions of the land. The portion of Bristol included, is shown as it was previous to the Reformation, with the help of William of Worcester's most curious note book.

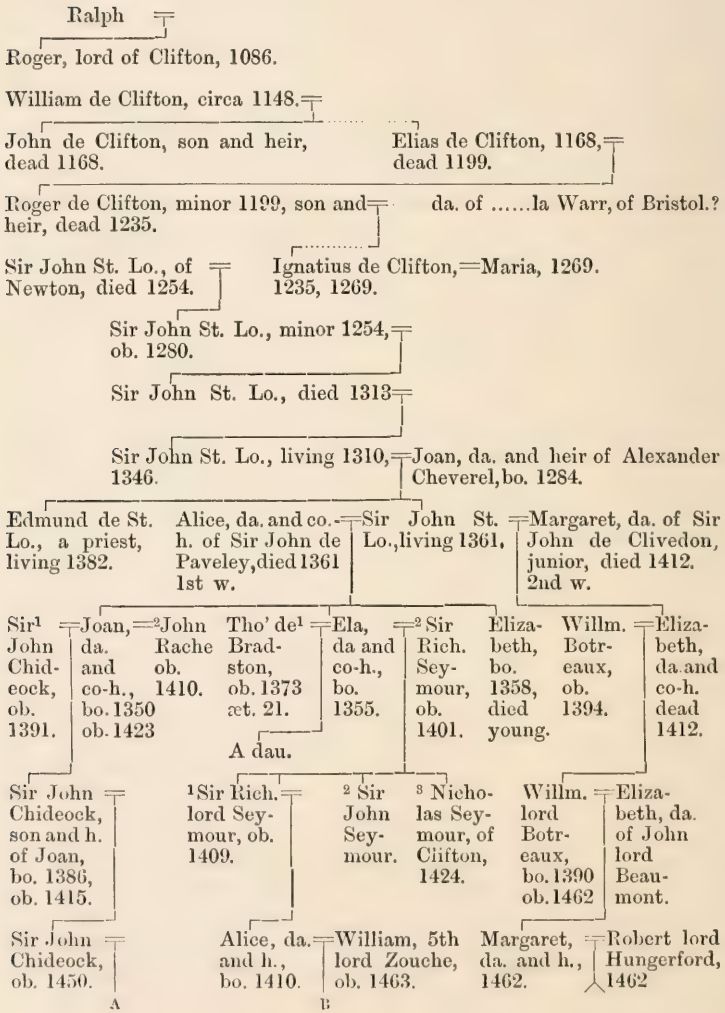
In former days there were two routes to Clifton from Bristol, by Frome-gate, the only exit from the town on this side. However, the more usual one, taken by those on horseback was, after passing through the dark, narrow, long vaulted archway of the gate, and by the west end of the hospital church of St. Bartholomew, instead of keeping straight on through Hore Street, they turned sharp to the right at the angle of the garden of the Carmelite Friars, where the image of the Blessed Mary stood, up Stype Street, so called from its abrupt rise. Turned to the left at the top, leaving on the right the cross and well, the chapel of the Magi, or the three kings of Cologne, the Maudlin Priory, and the parish church of St. Michael just above it, with its holy recluse.

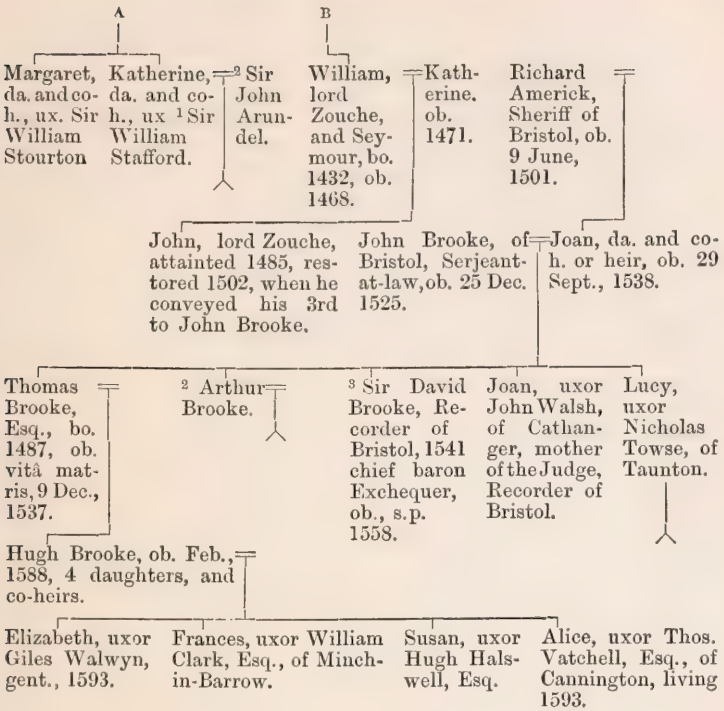
Took the rough terrace road up the "stony hill" side, called by William of Worcester[1] "Stanley," where there would be a fine view of the town over the abbey and priory, which lay beneath, the famous gardens of the latter coming up to the wall of the road. Reaching the top of the slope, the road bore over the high ground, leaving, some distance to the left, the outlying peak, with its chapel and hermitage of St. Brendan, standing on the summit, bleak and lonely; then dipped into the head of the woody valley, met Woodwell Lane, and mounted the hill side to Clifton Church.

Those who took the other route would go to the end of Hore Street, which was the only way to the abbey, the priory, and St. Mark's Hospital, pass the priory church, with its spire, then round by Pipe Lane, down through Frogmere Street and Frog Lane, where there are a few ancient houses yet remaining, then by the path over Brandon Hill, some distance below the hermitage to the Conduit of the Canons, opposite St. Jacob's Well. Crossing Woodwell Lane, and passing on the right the stocks which stood till lately, ascend the steep path by Clifton Wood to the church.

[1] The author of this paper, and those of some of the other papers in this volume, had written the name of this old author as "William Wyrcestre," but for the sake of uniformity and to avoid an appearance of pedantry, we have, throughout, adopted the more usual form of "William of Worcester." He would seem to have been a native of Bristol, and wrote his own name "W. Wyrcestre," without the "de," and speaks of *W. Wyrcestre pater meus*; moreover, Dallaway, his Editor, quotes a deed, dated as early as 1368, of W. "Wyrcestre," glover of Bristol.—Ed.

PEDIGREE—ILLUSTRATING THE DESCENT OF THE MANOR OF CLIFTON.




A
B
Margaret, da. and co-h., ux. Sir William Stourton
Katherine, da. and co-h., ux [1] Sir William Stafford.
[2] Sir John Arundel.
William, lord Zouche, and Seymour, bo. 1432, ob. 1468.
Katherine. ob. 1471.
Richard Americk, Sheriff of Bristol, ob. 9 June, 1501.
John, lord Zouche, attainted 1485, restored 1502, when he conveyed his 3rd to John Brooke.
John Brooke, of Bristol, Serjeant-at-law, ob. 25 Dec. 1525.
Joan, da. and co-h. or heir, ob. 29 Sept., 1538.
Thomas Brooke, Esq., bo. 1487, ob. vitâ matris, 9 Dec., 1537.
[2] Arthur Brooke.
[3] Sir David Brooke, Recorder of Bristol, 1541 chief baron Exchequer, ob., s.p. 1558.
Joan, uxor John Walsh, of Cathanger, mother of the Judge, Recorder of Bristol.
Lucy, uxor Nicholas Towse, of Taunton.
Hugh Brooke, ob. Feb., 1588, 4 daughters, and co-heirs.
Elizabeth, uxor Giles Walwyn, gent., 1593.
Frances, uxor William Clark, Esq., of Minchin-Barrow.
Susan, uxor Hugh Halswell, Esq.
Alice, uxor Thos. Vatchell, Esq., of Cannington, living 1593.

THE DOMINICANS AND DOMINICAN PRIORY.

By JOHN TAYLOR,

Librarian of the Bristol Museum and Library.

BEFORE I proceed to describe what remains of this Priory, I desire to say a few words respecting the Order to which it belonged.

The Dominicans formed one of the great Orders of Mendicant Friars. The Friars differed from the Monks in two important particulars. The lives of the Friars were *active*, and they took the vow of *poverty*, whilst those of the Monks were *contemplative*, and they were permitted to hold property. The Monks lived within their Monasteries, serving God according to the rule of their respective Orders, and employing the intervals between their services in manual labour or writing and other literary work: whilst the Friars frequented the busy haunts of men, and the vilest purlieus of the cities, preaching and ministering, as far as might be, to the necessities of all men, both in soul and body.

At the time the Mendicant Orders arose, the duty and art of preaching had become greatly neglected. This evil strongly pressed itself upon the attention of the rulers of the church. The Council of Lateran, which assembled in the mother church in Rome, on 11th November, 1215, at which nearly 500 Bishops, as many Abbots and Priors, together with representatives of all the Royal Houses in Europe, were present, after deploring the evils flowing from the neglect of preaching and the inability of preachers, empowered each Bishop, in his own diocese, to appoint fit and proper persons to perform this office.

Dominic de Guzman, a Spanish Priest, who was himself present at the Lateran Council, about this time, it is said, founded

an Order or Brotherhood, primarily to undertake the Office of preaching, with the object of converting Jews and Heretics, and of stirring up Christian people. The Brethren of this Order, from the name of their founder, were called "Dominican Friars," from the Colour of their habit "Black Friars," and from their office "Friars Preachers."—Fratres Predicatores. The Order was, however, known before the time of the Lateran Council. One of the rules of the Order obliged the Friars always to travel on foot; and when John, King of England, in 1204, was about to proceed beyond the sea, Pope Innocent the III. granted a license, permitting such Franciscan and Dominican Friars, as might accompany the king, to ride.[1]

In the year 1221, the year in which their founder died, as many as thirteen Dominican Friars, including a superior, came into England for the purpose of establishing their Order in this country. They were favourably received by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, who allowed them to settle, and fixed their first home in Oxford. Their second home was the Black Friars, in London, but within a very short time after their arrival they appeared in Bristol.[2]

The records relating to the priory in Bristol are few and fragmentary. It was founded by Maurice de Gaunt, lord of Beverstone, and Matthew de Gurnay. The former died in 1230, and was buried in the Priory, as was also, probably, the latter, as he was commemorated in the obituary.[3] When the work was sufficiently

[1] Rymer's Fœd. I., p. 137.

[2] The Dominicans produced some very distinguished men. Among the most prominent of English birth may be mentioned Robert Kilwarby, the Provincial of the Order in England, who became Archbishop of Canterbury and a Cardinal, and who died in 1280; Nicholas Trivet, the Historian, who died in 1328; and Robert Holcot, who died in 1349.

[3] William of Worcester, in Itin., Nasmyth's Ed., p. 233, gives the following:

In Martirologia Kalendarii fratrum prædicatorum Bristolliæ.

Johannes Vielle, Armiger, primus vicecomes Bristolliæ, obiit 29 die marcii.

Walterus Frampton obiit die 2 januarii.

Wilelmus Curteys, qui fecit fieri magnam crucem in cimiterio die 2 aprilis.

Ricardus Spicer, mercator, obiit primo die junii.

advanced, the Bishop of Worcester came to solemnise the dedication of the church and cemetery, but he was opposed by the Benedictine Monks of the neighbouring priory of St. James, who remonstrated against the infringement of their own charters and privileges by the diversion of the oblations, offerings for the dead, and other emoluments. This resistance was, however, ineffectual. The buildings were completed and consecrated.

The churches of the Friars Preachers were in plan different from the usual type, and adapted to the purposes for which they were specially required: viz., the accommodation of a large body of hearers. The cruciform plan was therefore avoided. The buildings were usually rectangular, forming a parallelogram, and destitute of constructional chancel, or choir, though a large portion of the building was apportioned, and fitted with stalls, for the accommodation of the fraternity. This was, however, not the case here. William of Worcester, gives the dimensions of the church in these words:—Longitudo chori ecclesiæ fratrum prædicatorum continet 26 virgas vel 44 gressus (= 110 feet). Latitudo chori continet 8 virgas vel 14 gressus (= 35 feet). Longitudo navis ecclesiæ continet 31 virgas vel 58 gressus (= 145 feet.) Latitudo ejusdem continet 21 virgas vel 44 gressus (= 110 feet). So that the nave was the same breadth as the length of the choir, and 30 steps, or 75 feet, wider. In the earlier times the Friary Churches were destitute of Towers, but in the 14th and 15th centuries slender towers were usually inserted between the choir and nave. That the Dominican Priory Church at Bristol possessed a tower is evident from an hitherto unnoticed entry in a MS. chronicle, of the time of Elizabeth, a

Mattheus de Gurnay, obiit 28 die augusti—unus fundatorum fratrum prædicatorum.

Domina Matilda Denys, quæ obiit die.. octobris, anno Christi, 1422.

Dominus Mauricius de Berkle, et domina Johanna uxor ejus... ..jacet in choro in sinistra altaris, die primo octobris.

Dominus Wilelmus Dawbeny, miles, qui jacet in choro.

Cor domini Roberti de Gornay, jacet in ista ecclesia, qui obiit die novembris.

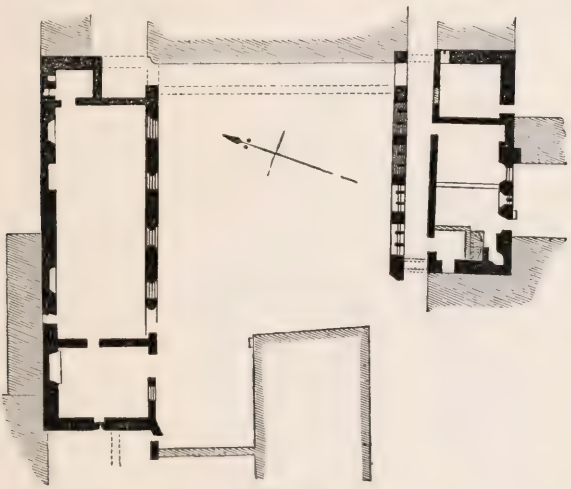
Dominus Ancelinus de Gurnay, qui jacet in choro die 15 novembris.

Dominus Mauricius Berkle, miles, obiit 26 die novembris.

1429, Frater Wilelmus Botoner, obiit die 15 decembris.

copy[1] of which is in the hands of Mr. William George. In this it is stated that "the steeple was cast down, in 1540, by the roar of the great gun of the Castle," just beyond the moat of which, and within speaking distance of the warders on the walls, the Priory Church was situate.

A description, by Mr. E. W. Godwin, of the remains of the ancient Priory, as they existed in 1845, was published with plans, sections, and elevations, by the Archæological Institute, in 1853, of which we avail ourselves, in the following remarks. The remains then consisted of two rectangular buildings, ranging nearly east and west, and almost parellel to each other (fig. 22.) The



(Fig. 22.)

northernmost, which was considerably the longest, is supposed, by Mr. Godwin, to have formed the south side of a quadrangle, of which the nave of the church formed the north, which conjecture is supported, by the fact, that the corbels remained in the north wall which were supposed to have sustained the principals of the roof of the cloisters. The communications from the ground floor, on this side, and the set off in the wall immediately below the sill of the upper windows, as well as the absence of any lights below,

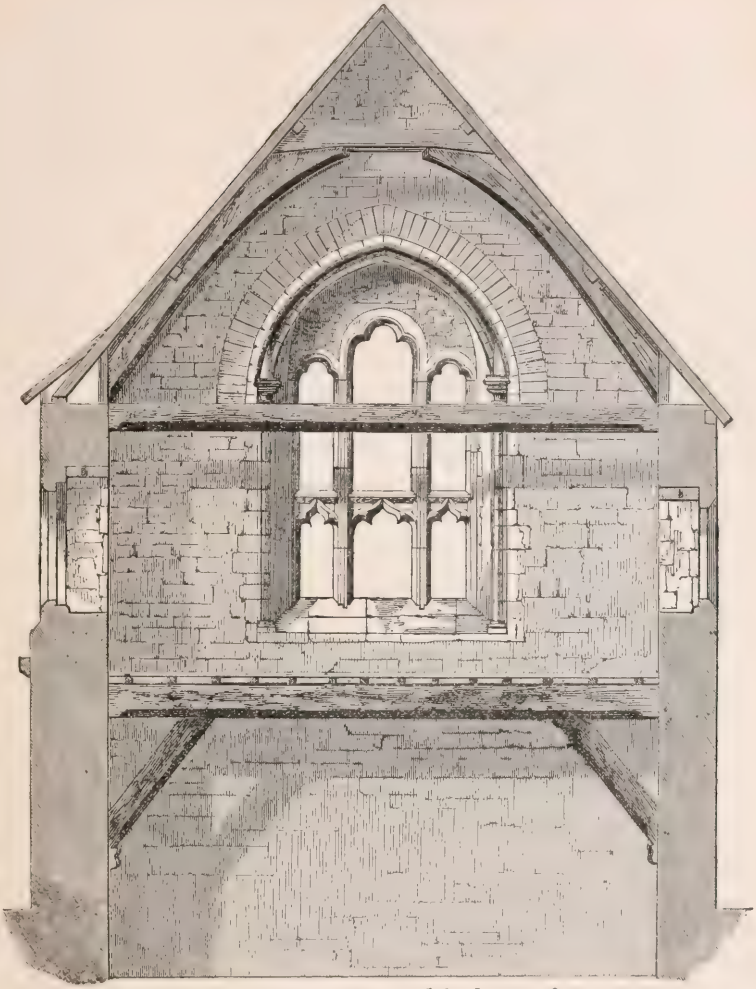
[1] The original was destroyed in a fire on the premises of Mr. Thomas Kerslake.

would seem to strengthen this view and establish the position of the church, for the length of the cloisters, as stated by William of Worcester, agrees with the length of the building.[1]

The whole of the south wall had been built up, the floors renewed, and the apertures in the north wall blocked up, but the plan and sections, shewing the form and arrangement of the building before the alterations, had been supplied to Mr. Godwin by the architect by whom such alterations had been made. At the west end were the remains of a doorway that led into a small building, by which access was obtained to the upper floor; the mark where the roof abutted against the wall was still visible; but every other vestige had disappeared. This building yet remains. The floor, as shewn in the sections (fig. 23, p. 237), was supported by oak beams, 15in. by 16in., and struts, 12in. by 8in. resting on stone brackets. The upper story consists of one long unbroken apartment (the dormitory). It is lighted by a series of 15 lancet windows in the north wall, and formerly by a similar series, but square-headed, in the south wall. The west window is of two cinquefoil lights, with an elegant quatrefoil in the head (fig 24.) The rear arch is chamfered and the jambs are

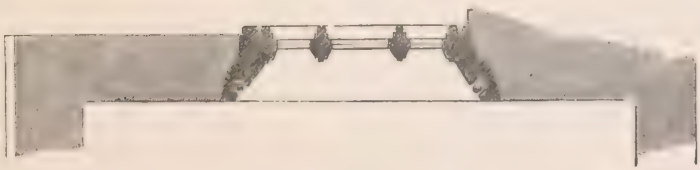
(Fig. 24.)

[1] Claustrum eorum ex omnibus, 4 partibus continet, 40 gressus.



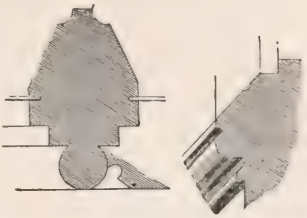
Section, looking East— $\frac{1}{4}$-inch to a foot.

(Fig. 23.)



Plan.

widely splayed. Below this window, on the outside, may be seen the arch of a doorway, which formerly opened into the lower apartment. It is semi-circular, and has a plain round moulding. The east window, then existing, had been removed from its original position in the east wall of the other building, which is seventy or eighty years older than that of which we are now treating, and is of the matured Early English style. It consisted of three trefoil-headed lights, the centre one being higher and wider than the others; the mullions and string below, or rather forming part of the sill, are moulded in a bold but elegant style: the former are merely chamfered on the inner side, but the rear arch, supported by its nook-shafts, with their beautifully moulded shafts and bases (fig. 25), more than compensate for the omission.[1] The ancient timber roof of the 14th century still remains. It is divided into twelve bays. The whole length of the dormitory is 86-feet 3-in., and the breadth, 23-feet. Beneath the dormitory, on the basement floor, are offices lighted by double lancet windows, under a single hood-moulding externally, and separated within by a slender column.



(Fig. 25.)

I now turn to the other vestige of the monastery, which lies 58-feet on the south of building above described. This, as before stated, is of earlier date, co-eval, perhaps, with the foundation of the house in 1229. Upon the ground floor are the remains of a cloister. This cloister communicates with an open space on the eastern side leading northward, which was, doubtless, a continuation, and with buildings, which appear to have been domestic offices, on the south side and western end of the building, in one of which the fire-place and chimney are now extant. The upper floor is supposed to have been the hall of the Priory. It still possesses some interesting details, though not much to admire. This hall is 49-feet in length and 34 feet in breadth. It is lighted

[1] In its new position the transom shewn in the engraving (fig. 23, p. 237) has been removed.—Ed.

on three sides, the eastern window, as before stated, having been removed. The rear-arches of all the other windows, and some very much mutilated remains of a fire-place in the west wall, together with the roof,[1] which is only visible in places, and which is, probably, of the same date as the building, are all that remains. This is called the "Bakers' hall," having been used as the hall of that Guild.

In the year 1669, a meeting house for Quakers was erected on these premises, which, from the ancient character of the basement walls, Mr. Godwin considers, occupies the site of the great hall of the Priory. The meetings of the connexion were, however, held here previously to the erection of this meeting house, as is seen by various entries in the journal of George Fox, in which he mentions having preached here. In the same year in which the meeting house was built, George Fox was married within its walls. In 1697, William Penn, the founder of the colony of Philadelphia came to Bristol and resided here two years, from which the streets, eastward of the site of the Priory, derive their names of Philadelphia street and Penn street.

Sir Maurice Gaunt, the founder, was buried here in 1230, as also, on the left side of the altar, were Sir Maurice Berkeley, of Beverston, who died in 1466, and Johanna, his wife; and Sir William Daubeny, and Sir Anselme de Gourney, were interred in the choir. In 1824, in digging on the site of the monastery, three stone coffins were discovered, containing two male and one female skeletons, which were supposed to be the remains of some of these noble personages. The buildings are now used as schools by the Quakers and Wesleyan Methodists.

[1] With reference to this roof, Mr. Godwin remarks: I cannot close this paper without drawing attention to the miserable state of the building just mentioned, the principal feature of which (the roof) would, I think, on thorough exposure, prove to be one of those examples of early English carpentry, whose peculiarly rare occurrence renders them so much more interesting and valuable.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARK, COMMONLY CALLED BILLESWIKE, OR GAUNT'S, HOSPITAL.

By JOHN TAYLOR,

Librarian of the Bristol Museum and Library.

Robert de Berkeley, by his wife Alice, (the daughter and heir of Robert de Gaunt, by his first marriage with Alice, daughter and heir of William Paganel,) left an only son Maurice, who assumed his mother's name of Gaunt. This Maurice, who was one of the most powerful of the Barons who coerced King John, was the Lord of the Manor of Billeswike (Billeswyke?), of which College Green is the site. He was one of the founders of the Convent of Dominican Friars in Bristol, where he was buried in 1230, as well as of the house of which we are now treating, which was dedicated St. Mark, and called St. Mark's, or Gaunt's, Hospital, and also the Hospital of Billeswike. This latter was founded for the support of a Master and three chaplains, with daily alms to poor Christians, according to their deserts and needs, every hundred of the applicants to have distributed among them 45 lbs. of bread, made of wheat, barley, and beans, in equal quantities. There were also to be 12 scholars, to be admitted or removed at the will of the Master, who were to officiate in the choir of the chapel, dressed in surplices and black caps. At the admittance of each novice, he had a red shield affixed to his habit, which was worn during the year of his novitiate, after which, upon taking the vows of continence, obedience, poverty, &c., according to the rules of the order, a white cross was added. Leland observes that the Master was sometimes called a Prior, and the House a Priory of the Order of St. Augustine, and the house is often so described in the Gaunt's Charters.[1] Leland also

[1] Sir Thomas Phillips' Library.

states that the religious belonging to this house were called *Bonne hommes*, or good men. There were only two other colleges so named in England: viz., Ashridge, in Bucks., and Eddington, in Wilts. Annexed to the Hospital was an orchard and a garden, which form the site of Orchard Street, Unity Street, and the Grammar School. Upon the lower part of Stony Hill, adjoining, was situate the Columbarium, still identified by the name of Culver Street (from Culver—a dove). The extent of the hospital grounds towards the north is still indicated by a niche in the angle of the corner house of Pipe Lane and Frogmore Street, and near it are the remains of a winged lion, carved in stone.

"Sir Henry Gawnte," the first Prior of the Hospital, is described by Leland, as "a Knight, sometyme dwellynge not farre from Brandon Hill, by Brystow." Dying in A.D. 1268, his body was interred in the vesturye,[1] that is in the S. aisle, where his effigy, on a restored tomb, still appears.

It has not hitherto been noticed that the Lady Jane Guildford, widow of Sir Richard Guildford, retired to Gaunt's Hospital to spend her latter days. Possibly no more than the name of this lady will be recollected by many. She was the confidential friend and adviser of the Lady Mary, sister of King Henry VIII., who, when she proceeded to France, in 1514, to become the Queen of Louis XII., was attended by a long array of English nobles and servants, but on the morrow of her marriage her first grief and trouble arose. The king, her husband, dismissed the whole of her English suite, whose loss, especially that of the Lady Guildford (Mother of the Maids), and the Queen's most confidential companion, she very keenly felt. On Lady Guildford's return to England, King Henry VIII., as some compensation for her disappointment, granted her an annuity of £60 a year for life.

In connection with her residence in Gaunt's Hospital, in the days of her later widowhood, there is a letter to Secretary Cromwell, stating that "certain Injunctions," she understood, had "been given to the Master of Gaunt's Hospital, in Bristol, that

[1] Leland's Itin., Vol. 7, fo. 70.

no woman shall come within the precincts of the same, where I have a lodging most meetest, as I have chosen, for a poor widow to serve God now in my old days;" and she begs "that both for herself and her women, like as we have been hitherto to be of such governance, with your licence to the same, that no inconvenience shall ensue thereof. And where hereto I have been used from my house to go the next way to the church, for my ease, through the cloister of the same house to a chapel that I have within the quire of the same, I shall be content, from henceforth, if it shall so seem convenient vnto you, to forbear that and to resort to the common place, like as other do, of the same church."[1]

Barrett states that the Hospital of the Gaunts was surrendered by John Coleman, then master, and his brethren, by deed dated 11th Sept., 1534, into the hands of the King's Commissioners, to the king's use.[2] Its value has been variously stated from £112 to £184 per annum, and there were 420 ounces of plate.[3]

In 1540 the premises were granted by the crown to the Mayor and Burgesses for public uses, who afterwards granted the Church to the French Protestant refugees, for their worship, by whom it was held until the year 1721, when it reverted to the Mayor and Burgesses, by whom it was fitted up for their own use, the preacher being allowed £1 for each sermon.

The church lies nearly N. and S., instead of the usual position E. and W., but in describing it we shall treat of it as if it possessed the usual orientation. On either side of the exterior is a range of grotesque corbels belonging to the Early English building. Some of the windows are of the same style, but somewhat advanced. The great west window, covering nearly the whole front, is of eight lights, and is a combination of Decorated and Perpendicular. The head is a wheel of twelve spokes; the whole of the present tracery is modern, but a re-production of the old work. In the south aisle is a sub-arctuated window of three lights, with ball flower, a beautiful specimen of pure Decorated.

[1] Wood's Letters of Illustrious Ladies, II., p. 158.

[2] See post, p. 250. [3] See post, p. 253.

The tower was finished in 1487. The east end of the church, with its fine altar-piece of late Perpendicular niches and tabernacle work, is asserted to have been re-constructed by Miles Salley, Abbot of Eynsham, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, who died in 1516, and his tomb, on which is his effigy arrayed in full pontificals, beautifully carved, is conspicuous on the south side of the altar.

The greater part of the glass in the chapel was, says Mr. Winston,[1] I believe, brought from Mr. Beckford's house at Fonthill. Amongst other specimens of cinque-cento work, I may mention an excellent figure of St. Barbara, in the East window, and a companion figure of St. Catherine, of inferior merit. These, as well as most of the specimens of cinque-cento, seem to be of Flemish workmanship. The scourging of Christ, in one of the South windows, is remarkable for the use made of sprinkled ruby to represent His lacerated body. In another of the side windows —the first from the west—is some late French ornamental work, exhibiting cyphers, mottoes, and emblems of Henry II., of France, and Diana, of Poictiers. Some of the glass is dated 1543. The stained window in the south aisle, containing a figure in pontificals to represent St. Thomas a Becket, is a copy of a painting by West. It cost Mr. Beckford 280 guineas.

The Poyntz Chapel, now the vestry, is of highly enriched architecture. Attached to the walls are 8 niches, with carved canopies, once filled with figures. The roof is of fan tracery. The floor is partly of encaustic tiles, supposed to be Moorish azuleiás, brought from Spain. This chapel is a superlative example of Perpendicular work (dating from 1510 to 1520), in composition and detail, says Rickman, one of the most elegant models of that style remaining.

In 1730, the entrance to a large vault under the floor fell in and some bodies were discovered. One of the bodies, lying under the present fire-place, was that of a female, clothed in white satin, with her robes attached at her breast by a handsome gold clasp.

[1] Bristol Volume of Royal Archæological Institute, p. 15.

She was supposed to be Dame Margaret, wife of Sir Robt. Poyntz. for whose obsequies, with his own and those of his family, by his will, dated Oct. 19th, 1520, he richly endowed the chapel of Jesus and the Church of the Gaunts. When King Henry VII. visited Bristol, on the Whit-Tuesday, 1486, he dined at the residence of Sir Robt. Poyntz, at Iron Acton. The house is yet standing.

The Hagioscope, in the side chapel, is engraved in the *Glossary of Architecture*, vol. I., p. 350.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARK, OF BILLESWICK, OR GAUNT'S, HOSPITAL.

BY SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.

We are enabled to add some particulars to, and make a few corrections in, Mr. Taylor's interesting Paper on Gaunt's Hospital, or, as it is now called, the "Mayor's Chapel."

Tanner states that Gaunt's, or Billeswick, Hospital, was founded by Maurice de Gaunt before 1229, and that the foundation charter, in his time, was preserved in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Wells; and he establishes the date by saying that the charter of Robert de Gurnay, confirming the grant of his uncle Maurice de Gaunt, was witnessed by Anselme, Bishop elect of St. David's, who was elected in that year. He states that the house was founded for one Chaplain and that 100 poor people were to be fed every day, for which use Maurice de Gaunt gave the Manor of Poulet, in co. Somerset, with certain mills, to the Canons of St. Augustine, to whom he made his hospital entirely subject. Robert de Harptree, who assumed the name of Gurnay, and confirmed his uncle's charter, increased the number of Chaplains from one to three, and directed that the Hospital should be free from the Abbey of St. Augustine (see charter in Dugdale's Mon., vol. vi., p. 687).

The earliest direct information which we have upon the subject of this Hospital, is derived from a confirmation to William Lane,

Master of the Hospital of St. Mark, and the brethren of the said house, upon inspeximus of an ancient charter whereby Robert, the son of Robert, Earl of Gloucester (the consul), announced to his father, the son of the king, and to all his friends, French and English, that he had granted to Robert Fitz Harding[1] and his heirs, all the ville of Poulet, consisting of 15 librates of land and 100s. rent of land in Buro, in plain and meadow and in fields, with toll and theme, in sac and soc, and infangenethef, to be held by the service of one young sparrow hawke yearly, which land was then held by the said William Lane, the Master and the Brethren of the Hospital. The original charter is undated, but it was witnessed by Wad[r]. de Cure, Robert Pendrerall, Hugh desloges, Hubert Dapifer, Adam de Eli, Robert de Amari, and Robert de Saltmarsh (Saltemareis). The confirmation was tested by the King at Westminster, 6th May (1405).[2]

The Manor of Winterborne Gonner, in co. Wilts, was held by Henry de la Mere, who dying without issue, it reverted to the King, Henry III., who granted it to his eldest son, Edward;[3] and we have an ancient charter, dated 25th October, 52nd Henry III. (1268), whereby, Edward, described as Edward, the eldest son of the King, for the good of his soul and of the souls of his ancestors, granted to God and to the Blessed Mary, and to the Church of St. Mark, of Billeswick, juxta Bristol, and the Master and Brethren there serving God, and for the sustentation of the poor, the said manor of Winterborne, in free and perpetual alms for ever. This charter is witnessed by Thomas de Clare, Robert Agillon, Roger de Leburne, Robert de Waleraund, Robert Tibatot, Pagan de Chawras, Hugh son of Otto, and John de la Lynde; and was confirmed upon inspeximus, on 30th May, 1290, the following being witnesses: John, Bishop of Winchester; Reginald, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Chancellor; Anthony de Beck, Bishop of Durham; Edmund the King's brother; William de Valence the

[1] Robert Fitz Harding, son of Robert Fitz Harding, married Alice, sole heir of Robert de Gaunt by his first marriage with Alice, daughter and sole heir of William Pagenel. He was the father of Maurice de Gaunt, and Emma, or Eva, the mother of Robert de Gurnay.

[2] Rot. Pat., 6 Henry IV. Part 2, m. 23. [3] Rot. Pat., 51 Henry III., m. 15,

King's uncle ; Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford ; Lace, Earl of Lincoln ; and Richard de Wood.[1]

In 1286, we find that the Master and Brethren had letters of protection for three years. Tested at Gloucester, 27th September.[2]

In 1298, a vacancy having occurred in the mastership of the Hospital by the death of the master, John Abadam (Ap Adam)[3] and Elizabeth, his wife, claimed against John Belet, Henry Gyuerney, Walter de Kent, Walter de Chippenham, and William de Belvero, brethren of the hospital, the sole right of presentation, saying that Anselme de Gurnay, grandfather of the said Elizabeth, whose heir she is, presented the last master, a certain John de Lechelade, by whose cession it is now vacant. The brethren say the assize is unjustly taken against them because, they say, Robert de Gurnay, ancestor of the said Elizabeth, whose heir she is, granted in pure and perpetual alms to the Master of the said house the Manor of Poulet, for the sustentation of the said Master and three chaplains to celebrate perpetually, and for the refection of 100 poor persons every day, so that on the demise of the Master, the chaplains, for the time being, should elect one of themselves, or some other fit master, and present the said elect to the said Robert or his heirs, to be presented by the said Robert to the Diocesan of the place, to the end that he should be admitted as Master ; and they say that they have elected William de Bolvero, and are willing to present him to the said John Abadam, &c. ; but, they say, that the aforesaid Robert Gurnay granted that, if he should presume to contravene, for any unreasonable cause, the said election, the Bishop of Worcester should, nevertheless, admit the said elect upon the presentation of the brethren, and they proffered a charter of the said Robert de Gurnay testifying to the form of election and presentation. They admitted that the said John Abadam and Elizabeth, had the

[1] Rot. Cart., 18 Edward. I., Part I., No. 69.

[2] Rot. Pat., 4 Edward I., m. 9.

[3] John Ap Adam, here mentioned, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John de Gurnay, aged 16 on her father's death, 1290. John Ap Adam was a man of considerable importance. He was summoned to Parliament, from

right of presentation in this manner, and the said John and Elizabeth expressed themselves content.[1]

But this was not the only question which now arose touching the election of a Master of the Hospital. The King conceived that he had some right to hold the custody of the House during the vacancy in consequence of the Master holding the Manor of Winterbourne Gonner of the king in capite, and he issued a commission to enquire whether the custody pertained to John Abadam and Elizabeth his wife, solely, as the inheritance of the said Elizabeth; and upon an Inquisition taken at Lutegershale, on Sunday next after the feast of the Annunciation of the B.V.M., 27th Edw. I. (1299), the jury found that upon a vacancy occurring in the Mastership of the said House, the Brethren had the license of the said John Apadam and Elizabeth, his wife, to elect a fit Master, and present him to the said John and Elizabeth, and that such had been the custom from the time of the foundation of the said House; and the jury further say that the Master and Brethren hold one carucate of land in Winterbourne Goner of the king by petty sergeanty and rent of 12s. per annum.[2] Accordingly, on 17th September in the same year, the sheriff was commanded to restore to the Master and Brethren all the issues of the house which had been taken into the king's hands.[3]

The next record, in chronological order, which we find relating to this Hospital, is a license of the King, dated 7th February, 1314-15, authorising the Master and Brethren to appropriate to the house the Church of Stokland, of which they held the advowson.[4] In the same year, upon the payment of a fine, the Master and Brethren obtained a license to exchange one mill in Netherwere, with its water course, with John, Bishop of Bath and Wells for forty acres of pasture and four score acres of moor in Comp-

6th Feb. (in this year), 27th Edward I. (1299) to 3rd Edward II., and likewise 26th Jan. 1297, though it is doubtful if it was a regular summons to Parliament. Ob. cir. 1309, leaving Thomas his son and heir, who became of age 1324, and was living 1330. He was never summoned.

[1] De Banco Roll, 27 Edw. I., Easter, m. 8. [2] Escheats, 27th Edw. I., No. 132. [3] Rot. Claus., 27th Edw. I., m. 6. [4] Rot. Pat., 8th Edw. II., part I., m. 4.

ton and Ceddre.[1] And on the 8th September 1326, the Bishop obtained another license authorising him to exchange the advowson of the Church of Overstowey, with the Master and Brethren, for four score acres of moor, the site of one mill, and the watercourse thereto pertaining in Compton, Ceddre, and Netherwaye.[2]

In 1324 a dispute arose between the Master and Brethren, and one John de Poulet, relative to certain rights of common, claimed by the said John, in the demesne lands of the Master and Brethren in Poulet. The contention was submitted to arbitration, and it was finally agreed that John de Poulet having acknowledged his services, should have common of pasture for so many animals as could subsist thereon, and estover for his own use growing in the demesne lands of Northam, in Poulet, which he then possessed, from Michaelmas day to the feast of the Purification of the B.V.M., in all lands, not sewn, in Southam; and that if the said John should not find sufficient pasture in the cultivated lands at Southam for the said animals, the Master and Brethren grant to him, in augmentation, for the time being, sufficient pasture in Northam, they reserving a right of way for their wagons, in consideration of which John de Poulet granted to the Master and Brethren the whole land of Northam, without challenge, for ever.[3]

It is stated in an Inquisition returned into Chancery, in the following year, that it had been discovered that a certain progenitor of the King had, conjointly with Maurice de Gaunt, Chr., given to the Master of the Hospital of St. Mark, at Bristol, and his successors the manor of Stokeland Gaunt, for the celebration of Divine Service in the said Hospital, and other works of piety: viz., to distribute weekly, on Wednesdays and Fridays, 100 breads and 100 messes (?ferculis) of potage to 100 poor persons, and it was alleged that the said works of piety had been totally subtracted by William Lane, then Master of the said Hospital; further, that a certain progenitor of the King had founded the Hospital, and given lands and tenements in Gaunteshame, and Colle, juxta Bruton (Soms.), to the Master of the said Hospital,

[1] Ibid., Part I. No. 3. [2] Ibid, 20th Edw. II., m. 17.
[3] Rot. Pat., 4th Henry V., m. 36.

and his successors, to maintain 13 chaplains to celebrate divine service for the soul of the said progenitor and his progenitors and their heirs for ever, and that the said William Lane, for the past twenty years, had subtracted the services of 10 of the said chaplains; and further that the annual value of the said manor of Stokeland Gaunt, and the lands in Gauntesham and Colle, was £40 beyond reprises. We have seen from the foregoing records that this claim, and the charge against the master based thereon, were without foundation. The matter was referred to the King's Justices and Serjeants-at-Law, and it resulted in its being commanded by precept, tested at Westminster, 21st June, 1406, that the manor and lands, which had been seized into the king's hands, should be restored to the Master and brethren.[1]

We now pass on to 1534, in which year, Mr. Taylor states, on the authority of Barrett, that the Hospital was surrendered by John Coleman, then Master, and his brethren, into the hands of the King's Commissioners. This statement was manifestly inaccurate, for it is inconsistent with Lady Guildford's letter, just preceding, which was written subsequently to Cromwell's Injunctions, and shews that the Hospital still existed. Cromwell was not appointed Vicar-General and Visitor of the Monasteries until 1535. He appointed Commissioners under him, and the Visitation did not commence until October in that year.[2] These discrepancies led us to look more closely into the History of the Hospital, and we find that the deed cited by Barrett was not the *deed of surrender*, but of the acknowledgment of the King's Supremacy. It is dated 11th September, 1534, and is still preserved in the Record Office.[3] It is in excellent condition, signed by John Coleman, Master; John Helys, Richard Fechatt, Robert

[1] Rot. Claus., 7th Henry IV., m. 11.

[2] Rapin's History of England, Vol. I., p. 807; Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I., Book iii., p. 181, in which the Injunctions are printed, p. 184.

[3] This document is among the Chapter House Records. No. 18 of the deeds. See also Appendix II. to the 7th Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, p. 281.

Benet, and Thomas Pynchyn, his brethren; and it has the seal of the Hospital appended thereto. The seal is unbroken, but the impression is almost entirely effaced.[1] We have, however, after much enquiry, succeeded in discovering, in the collection of Mr. Robert Ready, of the British Museum, another example, and from the two can give a tolerable restoration of the seal. It is of the vesica form, 2ins. by 1¼ins. The device consists of two crocketed canopied niches, supported by crocketed buttresses. In the sinister nich is a seated figure of the Evangelist, represented as writing his gospel on a desk or stand before him, holding in his right hand a stilus or pen. In the dexter nich before him is a lion sejant rampant, In the space above, between the two canopies, is a heater-shaped shield, which is now pressed quite flat, but which was probably charged with the arms of the House; and in a compartment below the figures are two other similar shields in a like condition. These, probably, contained the arms of the two founders; the sinister is shown to be paly.[2] Between these shields is another nich, much smaller than those above mentioned, in which is a kneeling figure, looking to the right.[3] The whole is circumscribed by the following legend in lombardic capitals.

S' COE · DOM . SCI · MARCI · DE · BILLESWYK · IVXTA · BRISTOLL'

Sigillum Commune Domus Sancti Marcii de Billeswyk juxta Bristolliam.

[1] This seal is mentioned by Tanner as defaced in his time.

[2] These shields may probably be explained by those stated by Barrett to remain in painted glass in the tracery of the east window of the chapel. The first, he says, contained the arms or badge of the house: *gu, three geese, ar.*; another the arms of Robert de Gurnay: *or, three pales, az.*, and the third the arms of Berkeley, whilst over this window, on the outside, run in lead, is the date 1423 (Barrett's Hist. of Bristol, p. 344).

[3] There is a somewhat similar design on a foreign seal of Friars Preachers in Mr. Ready's collection.

The deed of surrender is, unfortunately, not forthcoming, but its date was 9th Dec., 31st Henry VIII (1539) as appears from the following Survey of the possessions of the Hospital, made thereupon:—

Billeswick, otherwise called the Gauntes, nigh Bristol, late Religious house. — Surrendred to Thuse of the Kinges Majestie, and of his heyres for euer, by Dede thereof made, bering Date vnder the Conuent Seale of the same late Monastery, the ixth Daye of Decembre, in the xxxjth yere of the Reigne of o^r^ most Dredde Soueraigne lord King Henry the viijth. And the same Daye and yere clerely Dissolued and Suppressed.

The clere yerely value of all the possessions belonging to the seid late Religious house. — Aswell spirituall as temporall ouer, and besides xix li vj s. viij d. in ffees and annuytes, g^u^nted to Diu'se Parsons, by conuent seale of the same Late Monastery, for Terme of liffe. ——— clxv. li. ij. s. iiij. d. ob.

whereof in.

Pencions assigned to the late Religious Dyspetched. — That is to sey — To:

- John Colman, clerke, late Master there, by yere. ——— xl. li.
- Richard ffletcher, late steward of household here —— vj. li. xiij. s. iiij. d.
- John Elis, clerke, asigned to be curate of the Parish of Seint Marke, there. So longe as he shall s've the same Cure. — viij., which if he refuse thenne, to have but vj. li. vj. d.
- Thomas Pinchyn, clerke. ——— vj. s.

lx. li. xiij. s. iiij. d.

And Soo Remayneth Clere ——— ciiij. li. ix. s. ob.

Recordes and Euydences belonging to the seid late House. — Remayn in the Treasoury there, vnder the custody of Edward Carne, Doctour of Law. The Keyes whereof remayn in the custodie of Richard Poulet, esquirer, Receyuo^r^.

Churches, Houses, & Buyldinge.

Appoynted to remayne vndefaced. viz.:

- The churche there appointed for the Parish Church. — As heretofore hath bene vsed.
- The Lodginge, called the Master's Lodginge, w^t^ Halle, Buttre, Pantre, & Kitchyn. — Comytted to the custodie of the seid Docto^r^ Carne.

Deemed to be sup'fluous. — Deuyded in to honest Ten^n^teryes w^t^ convenient Rente yerely reserued. — To thuse of the Kinge Magestie.

Leades Remaynīg.	To thuse of the Kinge's Magestie.	None, but oonly vpon the seid church, which is the parish church, as aboue-seid estemed to vij. ffoders ———	n.t
Belles.	Remaynīg.	In the steple there—vj., whereof assigned to the parish there—iij., and Remayneth to the vse of the Kinge ma^tie iij poiz by est.	MM weight.
Juelles reserued.	To Thuse of the Kinges Matie	None,	
Plate of Siluer reserued.	To the same vse. viz.	Siluer gilte -lxxvij oz. Siluer p'cell gilte–clvj.oz. Siluer, white–ciiij.vij. oz.	ccccxx. oz.
Ornamentes reserued.	To thuse aforeseid. viz.	None.	
Sm^a off alle the Ornamentes, Goodes, and Catalles.	lately belonging to the seid late House.	Sold by the seid comyssioners, as p'ticulerly apperith in the booke of sales thereof made redy to be shewed. ———	xxxiij^li v^s. v^d.

Whereof in

Paymentes

To the late Religious & seru^ntes Dispetched. viz.	To–iij Religious Parsons, late Preestes of the seid late House of the Kinge Magestes Reward–	vj.^li	xvj.^li ix.^s iiij.^d
	To–xvj. menne & children, seru^ntes and Queresters of the seid late house for their wagez and lyueres–	x.^li ix.^s iiij.^d	
of Dettes owing by the seid late house.	To Diu'se p'sons for victualles hadde of theym to the vse of the seid Mo^nstery w^t xij^li payd to the late M^r there, for the payment & Discharge of alle the Residue of the Dettes owing by the seid late house, by conuen^nte.		xiiij.^li

And Soo remayneth clere ——— lvjs^ j^d

Dettes Owing	by the seid late house. / To the same.		none.
Patronage of Churches belonging to the seid late Mo'stery.		Com. Glouc.	The Vicarage of Stokeland Gauntes, by yere. ——— / The Vicarage of Ou'stowey. ———

Augmentation Office, Miscellaneous Books, 494, fo. 53.

Copied with the exact arrangement of the original, as to columns, spelling, &c., except that in some instances the words have been extended.

It appears from Lady Guildford's letter, (ante p. 242) that the Chapel of the Hospital was used for public worship, and this is stated in the Survey. The original intention was to convert it into a Parish Church, for which purpose it was "appoynted to remayne vndefaced;" but, as we shall presently see, the intention was subsequently abandoned, and the church sold.

The manors and lands of the Hospital were thus disposed of:—

The manor of Poulet was valued, after all deductions, in the clear annual value of £75 17s. 9½d., from which was made a deduction of £7 9s. 9½d., leaving clear £68 6s.; and by Letters Patent, dated 8th June, 32nd Henry VIII. (1540), was granted to Richard Cupper for the sum of £1366, being at the rate of 20 years purchase, and a reserved rent of £7 11s. 9½d.[1]

In consideration of the sum of £1000 sterling, the following manors and lands were granted by Letters Patent, dated 6th May, 33rd Henry VIII. (1541) to the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol: viz, the site of the late Hospital, the *Church*, Steeple, and Churchyard thereof; the manors of Erdecote Gaunts, and Lee, in co. Glouc., and Stokeland Gaunts and Overstowey, and the advowsons of the Vicarages, thereof in co. Soms., and the manors of Winterborne Gonner, alias Cherburgh, in co. Wilts, with all the messuages and lands pertaining thereto, which belonged to the late Hospital; also the manor of Hampe, in co. Soms., which belonged to the late monastery of Athelney, &c. Also, a close of

[1] Rot. Pat., 32nd Hen. VIII., part II., m. 2.

pasture, called Ayschen Close, and a pasture thereto adjoining, on the hill of St. Michael, in the suburbs of Bristol, near Magdalen Lane, which belonged to the late Priory of St. Mary Magdalen, Bristol; also the house and site of the late Friars Minors in Bristol, and a parcel of land called "lyme Kylles," and the prize of all the fishes within the town liberty and common of Bristol, which prize of fishes belonged to the late house of Friars Carmelites in Bristol; the messuage and house called "Hooper's Hall," within the said site, and all churchyards, gardens, orchards, within and near the said site.[1]

[1] Rot. Pat., 33rd Hen. VIII., part I., m. 33.

ANTIQUITIES AT CIRENCESTER AND BERKELEY. MEMORANDA OF CERTAIN SKETCHES

By J. T. IRVINE.

Submitted to the Society by J. F. NICHOLLS, F.S.A.

CIRENCESTER.

THE first illustrates a very remarkable fragment of a side-table or stand, of stone, of late Roman work, shewing a treatment which might almost be said to verge upon Norman. It may be conjectured to have been intended for the support of a bust in the centre and smaller figures on each side. It is of much interest as an example of transition in the History of Architecture (see Plate IX., figs. 1 to 4.)

The two fragments of tiles (Plate IX., fig. 5 & 7) are remarkable as exhibiting, certainly, the initials I.H.S., and the letters differ so much in size and character from the usual tile stamps as almost inevitably to lead to the conclusion that they form the Christian Monogram.

Much discussion respecting them took place among the members of the "Bristol Archæological Association," on the visit of the Association to Cirencester.

The other fragment (Plate IX., fig. 6) is part of a leaden coffin, of Roman date, very richly ornamented. The decoration would appear to be of a Pagan character.

BERKELEY.

The remainder of the illustrations represent objects discovered during the restoration of Berkeley Church, in 1865, under the direction of the late Sir Gilbert Scott. The church is of unusual architectural interest. Some parts of it being of pre-Norman date, having formed portions of the church of the Saxon Nunnery, which here existed.

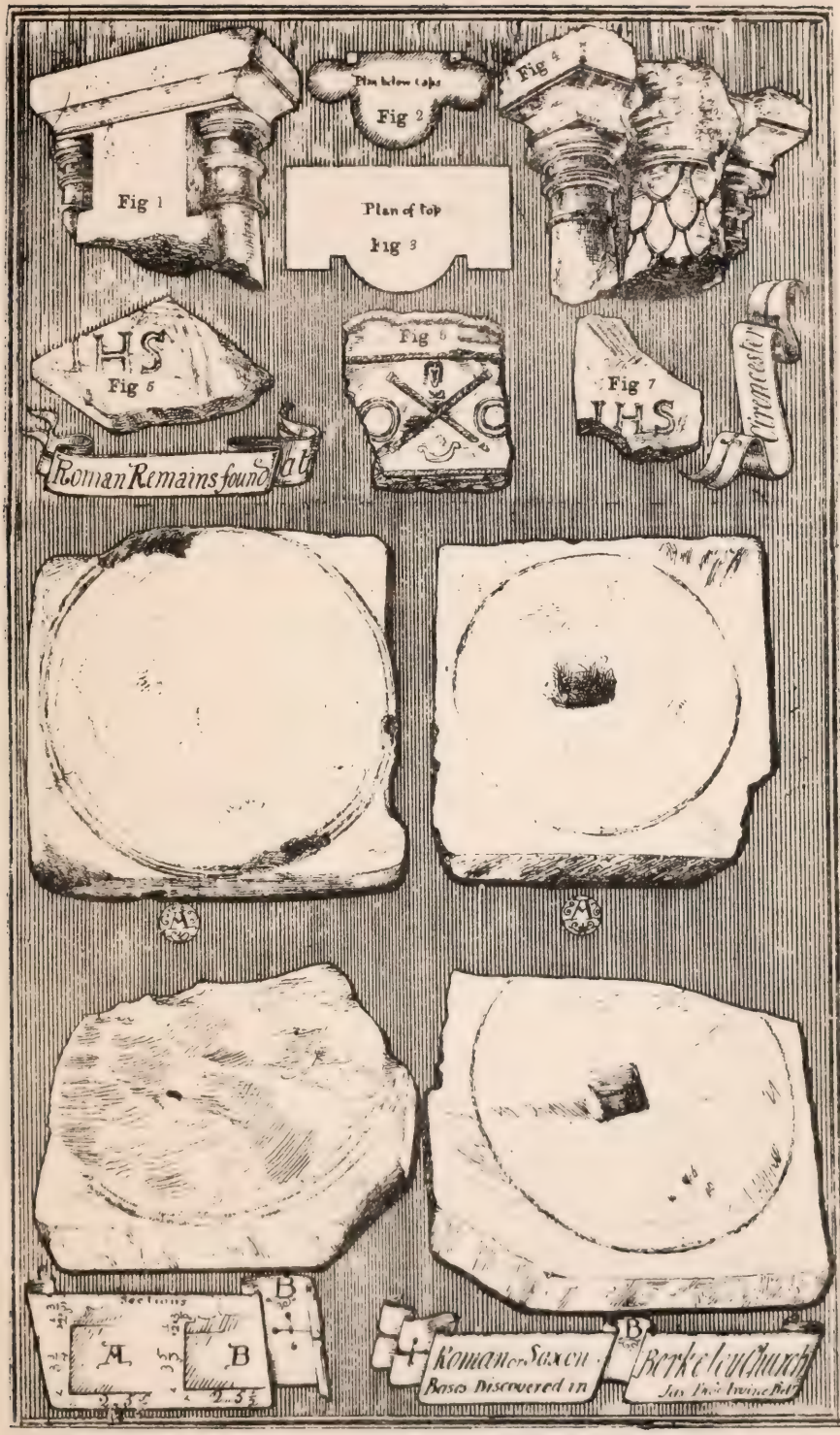
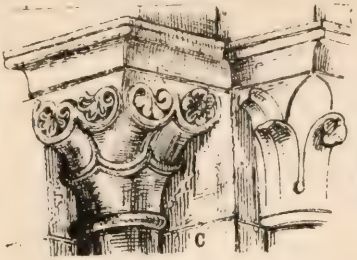
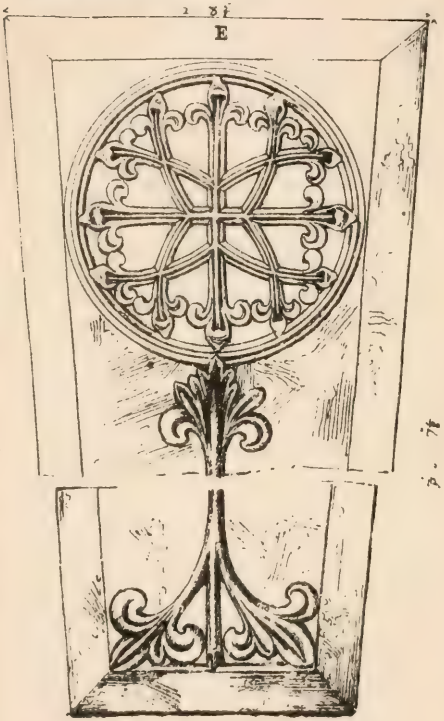


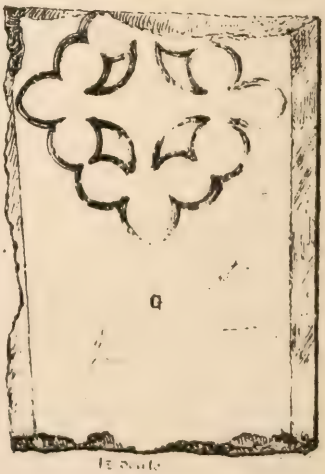
Fig 1
Plan below caps
Fig 2
Fig 4
Plan of top
Fig 3
Fig 5
Fig 6
Fig 7
Roman Remains found at
Cirencester
Sections
A
B
Roman or Saxon
Bases Discovered in
Berkeley Church


C

D
Sketched
June 18. 1865


E

F


G

During the removal of the floor, for the purpose of laying a bed of concrete, a stone cist was discovered containing bones. The interment, itself, is not believed to be of any very great antiquity, but the cist was, in part, constructed of two large slabs, appearing to have formed bases of columns of considerable size. They are moulded, and were evidently turned in a lathe, the socket remaining in the bottom of each. The mouldings are 2-ft. 4-in. in diameter, but unfortunately they are destroyed down to only an inch or two in height, and so defaced as to render it impossible to say, with certainty, whether they were of Roman or later date. The square slabs are but three or four inches in thickness at their edges, but within the circular moulding, where the surface of the tone is very roughly "bunched" or dressed, with the stone axe, they are one or two inches thicker.[1] At the backs they are both reduced to a tolerably even surface (See Plate IX., figs. A and B). The figure marked C. Plate X., represents the capitals of the columns on the west side of the south door of the nave. These remain in *situ*. That marked D, is an illustration of a portion of an unusually beautiful churchyard cross of Early English date. This fragment, together with a smaller plain portion of the shaft, were found used up as wall-stones in repairing, at some time or other, the buttress west of the north door of the nave. On the upper part, or arms of the cross, appear the lower portions of two figures, one kneeling and the other standing. The subject was, probably, the Annunciation, that on the other side being the Crucifixion. The above fragment was placed in the Berkeley Chapel.[2]

The beautiful sculptured coffin-lid, marked E, was found beneath the floor of the church, lying somewhat diagonally on its edge. It measures only 3ft. 7in. in length. This slab is now preserved in the Berkeley Chapel.

The other two stones, marked F and G, were found reversed and used as paving stones.

[1] The thinness of the slab would seem to preclude the idea that were ever intended to support columns of such large dimensions as is mentioned in the text.

[2] We regret to learn that it cannot now be found.

THE ANCIENT CHARTER PRIVILEGES OF THE BRISTOL FREEMEN; WHENCE DERIVED, AND HOW MAINTAINED.

By J. F. NICHOLLS, F.S.A.,
Chief Librarian of the Bristol Free Libraries.

[*All Rights reserved*].

THE earliest charter extant in the Bristol Archives is dated A.D. 1164, 10th Henry II. In that, as well as in subsequent charters, reference is repeatedly made to "the liberties, acquittances, and free customs," antecedently enjoyed by the "Burgesses." One charter expressly mentions the fact, that these "Liberties, &c.," had been enjoyed from "time immemorial." Our object in this paper is to trace these privileges to their source, to explain, in some measure, their operation, and to notice the influence they exercised, not only upon the municipal growth of Bristol, but also upon the kingdom at large.

It will aid our enquiry if we glance at the condition of Britain during the early centuries of the Christian era.

The Angles in the 6th century found here 59 territorial cities,[1] inhabited by men skilled in artistic work in metals and gems, which, during the ensuing three centuries, gained for the country a high reputation all over Europe. These people had a coinage of their own, held personal property, owned land that was hedged about and divided into fields; larger territorial divisions parcelled out the country into districts, which were permeated with lines of roads that linked together towns, some of which were carrying on not only a home trade, but also a considerable amount of commerce with foreign lands, and that by means of ships owned by their burgesses.

[1] Marcianus Lib. 1, p. 57. See Coote's Romans in Britain, p. 123.

Strong corroborative proof that Bristol was such a seaport town, carrying on an extensive foreign trade, is found in the fact, that a Mint was established, and money was coined here, from a very early date. The earliest known coinage is that of Ethelred II., but Knut, Harold I., Hartha Knut, Edward the Confessor, Harold II., and, in all, eighteen monarchs coined money here. This is shown by their mint-marks. Now, inasmuch as Mints were established, not simply to coin money of the realm, but also to test and assay the value of foreign money brought in payment of exports, the inference is clear that at the end of the 10th century Bristol was an important commercial town. Polydore Virgil says it was sacked by the Danes in the 9th century.[1] Seyer informs us that it was taken by Credda *circa* A.D. 577;[2] he also asserts that it was walled round by Constantine the Great, *circa*, A.D. 384.[3]

There are disputed statements as to when, and by whom, the second wall was built, Saxon, Dane, and Norman being credited therewith; but no one questions the fact that antecedently to the 9th century, Bristol was surrounded by an embattled wall and foss.

The assumption that this commercial town was fortified by the Angles is illusory.[4] These men, when they conquered the land were barbarians, who in their own country were no town dwellers, they hated to be pent up within walls, possessed no separate personal estate, lived under no centralised government, and, when not revelling in plunder, were steeped in squalor and poverty. They conquered the land in detail, meeting with no concentrated and united defence; and hence, though numerically a small minority, they soon became masters of the island. It is evident that the Angles could not confer upon Britain a civilisation of which they themselves had no knowledge; we must, therefore, look farther back than the Saxon period, for the men who first fortified Bristol.

[1] Taylor's article in Bristol and its Environs, p. 4.
[2] Seyer 230-1, and William Malmesbury Hist., 1-6. [3] Ibid, p. 214.
[4] Kemble's Saxons in England, Vol. II., 262 to 300.

Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath were undoubtedly Roman cities of early date; these contained the Temples, Altars of the Gods, the Circi, Amphitheatres, Baths, and the enervating luxuries of the Roman Coloni; entirely dependent upon the produce of the land, as soon as the country was conquered by the barbarians, when agriculture failed and the roads became unsafe, their trade ceased, and these great cities of the west declined.

Bristol, walled only about a century before the withdrawal of the Roman Legions, had not become enervated by the luxury that had so weakened the older cities. Her outlying forts, on Clifton Down, Sea Mills, Portishead, Blaise Castle, and Almondsbury, &c., kept the sea open to her, and as long as this was the case trade could exist, and food be procured, despite the ravages that swept the country districts, and caused the decadence of more ancient and opulent cities. The form of ancient Bristol, and the street lines, are so like to those of Glevum, and Aquæ Solis, as to confirm the view that an imperial plough originally marked out her pomerium, the inner line of which can still be traced. The boundary marks of her townships also remain, and with the hedge-rows, are a legacy from "the Masters of the World."

Her freemen are the descendants of the Roman "Ingenui, Liberti, and Libertini." "Men born free of free parents, men made free, and children of the men who had been made free." Her stringent laws by which strangers were forbidden a residence within the "tun," are but copies of the laws of "Papius" and "Junius Pennus." Her Guilds are continuations of the Collegia, or Companies of Artificers, instituted by Numa, and revived, with additional companies, by Clodius. The claim of her burghers for immunity from toll, custom, and passage, was founded upon the law of Metellus, which ordained that no Roman citizen should be called upon to pay the "Portorium," a toll levied upon goods imported or exported. Her laws relating to the wardship of orphans have a similar source. The Roman cities profited by making coin for their emperors; the Imperial coinage has come down to this day, the Roman "*Sicilicus*" is our shilling; the denarius is our penny, and we still possess the Mint, although the

building is applied to other uses. The so-called Saxon fibulæ and brooches are but skilful elaborations of earlier Roman work. The Roman element prevails in the Civil, as well as in the Territorial, Law. The very words we use in our intercourse, in our commerce, arts, manufactures, our business transactions, and our amusements, have never for one single day, for the past fourteen centuries at least, ceased to be heard within our walls. In fact our burgh, as known from its earliest history, in all essential points is identical with the Roman "Civitas;" and our burgesses, like the "Civitates," still follow and obey the "lex municipalis."

It was this municipal law that distinguished the Burghers from the inhabitants of the landed territory round about them. Under it they elected their own officers, administered civil justice, maintained a police, had charge of their own prison, possessed town-lands, a court-house in which they met for municipal affairs, kept the keys of their gates, levied tolls on provisions and goods brought into their markets; left their property by will, a privilege unknown to the German races; and, lastly, possessed slaves, and practised the sale into slavery of persons of low condition who had been convicted of some minor crime. This pernicious practice, it is well known, clung to Bristol until the days of James II.

Kemble, in his great work, "The Saxons in England," quotes Nennius approvingly when he names Bristol, next to London, as "amongst the thirty-four cities which adorned Britain under his forefathers.[1] Kemble further imputes the growth and continuance of the burgh to industry and commercial activity; he says "Let the most careless observer only compare London and Bristol with Warwick, Stafford, and Winchester, royal residences, scenes of court gaieties, and of Witenagemots, &c., &c.; while the Ceorls and mangeras of Brigstow and Lundenwic, were cheapening hides with the Esterlings, warehousing foreign wines, or bargaining with the adventurer from the East for incense.[2] Thus commerce, the child of opportunity, brought wealth; wealth power; and power led independence in its train."

[1] Vol. II., p. 269. [2] Ibid., p. 308.

Gibbon says "The letters of Honorius (circa 447) were addressed to the 'CITIES' of Britain. Each of these cities formed a legal corporation with powers of Municipal government, select senate, people's assembly, &c. Again, the cities studiously preserved the laws and manners of Rome."

Who then, we ask, were the men, who, in Bristol, from the 6th to the 9th centuries [that period of chaotic disturbance and strife], conserved within the walls of the burgh these ancient privileges of Roman birth, and advanced their town in opulence and power by their commerce? Clearly not the Anglo-Saxon Thane; he abhorred towns, and detested commerce. Tacitus tells us, "They will not dwell in cities; nay, they will not even suffer continuous building, and house joined to house." Dwelling in a corner of his manor, with his farms, ceorls, and serfs around him, cultivating the land for him by Socage or other recognised service, the Thane would not even pay gafol, or ground-rent, for his manor, to the king, whom indeed he looked upon as his fellow, the head freeman. Hence the king, whose land would naturally be soon distributed as reward for services in the field, was, as we shall see, driven to hold the towns where every freeman paid ground-rent to him. Neither were these town-dwellers the Ceorls, and assuredly they were not the serfs or the unfree.

The wergyld or life-price of a Thane was 1200 shillings, that of the Ceorl 200, and all landed territory was distributed between these two classes "be it churl or be it earl," says Knut, but between these in Wessex and Mercia was the six hynd-man, *i.e.*, a man whose life price was 600 shillings. This must be the burgher; he pays ground-rent, the Thane will not. He is above the Ceorl in birth and property privilege; his value is as 3 to 1; he can hold land to any extent, but although he chance to hold more land than a Thane this does not make him a Noble.[1]

Following another Roman law, Athelstan did indeed decree that "he who made three foreign voyages in his own ship should become a Thane;" so that the burgess might soon become a Noble.

[1] Coote's Romans in Britain, p. 377.

He could sit and take part in the county courts which the Ceorl could not do. He serves as a horseman in the king's army, the Ceorl goes on foot. All this and much more that might be quoted serves to show that the Bristol burgess is the lineal descendant of the Roman "*possessores*," the municipal inhabitants, who, together with many other "*Coloni*," never left the island, but, gathering within the walls, were strong enough to hold their own as one of the fifty-nine territorial cities of Ptolemy. Too far distant to succumb to the inroads of the Picts and Scots; although they were occasionally sacked by Angle and Dane, they possessed a strong recuperative power, and were finally, in a measure, protected by the king as a good milch cow from whom he could draw supplies at need.

Kemble compares the government of the towns to the municipal institution before the passing of the Act of 1835, and further says "We find the burghers treating as power to power with the king. . . . The rights of such a corporation were, in truth, Royal. They had their own alliances and feuds, their own jurisdiction, courts of justice, and power of execution, their own markets and tolls, their own power of internal taxation, and their personal freedom, with all its dignity and privileges. To secure these great blessings they had their own towers, walls, and fortified houses, bell and banner, watch and ward, and their armed train bands."[1] To shew how strongly these remarks apply to ancient Bristol, we will quote from our history. From 1312 to 1316 Bristol was in open revolt against King Edward II., because of his attempt to violate their charters, and impose upon them an unjust cocket (a toll levied on fish ships for the king's use), and certain other tolls in the markets. Great riots began in the town, the bell rang out, the people rushed to the Guildhall, the king's servants were beaten, killed, or driven out of the town, the walls and forts were manned by the burghers, a new wall was built between the King's Castle and the town, which during the following year was successfully defended against an army of 20,000 men.[2] Indeed, it was not until 1316 and after four days battering

[1] Kemble, p. 312. [2] Evans' Chronological History of Bristol, pp. 75-6.

with rams and other engines, so that the walls and houses were shaken, that the town yielded. The very leniency then shown to the burghers is a proof that they had only been defending their ancient rights. Their punishment was only a fine of 2,000 marks, and a short imprisonment of some of the chief men. We may add here that the last person executed under the municipal law was a Mrs. Burdock, in 1835.

It was the policy of William the Conqueror to interfere as little as possible with the great towns, hence Robert Fitzharding, a rich merchant, some say a lawyer, an advocate say others, was continued as "Præpositus" or chief magistrate of the burgh; "Patricius," a name savouring strongly of Rome, he is called by another of our annalists. From him sprang the noble house of Berkeley. Further proof of the maritime importance of the burgh is given in the fact that Harold fled here to take ship, in 1051,[1] when the pursuing Bishop "not could, or not would, overtake him," and that the same Harold, in 1063, fitted out a fleet here with which he was successful against the Welsh.[2] In Domesday Book we find that "Bristow, with the Barton, paid to the king 110 silver marks, and the Burgesses returned that Bishop Geoffrey had also 33 marks and one of gold."

The Norman assumption of the king's right to appoint the chief magistrate, instead of the people as heretofore, probably lasted until 1216. This was conceded when Henry III., on his accession, restored by Charter the ancient right, and held the first council of his reign in Bristol, conferring upon the Mayor the dignity of an Earl, by ordering the sword to be borne before him on public occasions.[3] In a copy of a deed, A.D. 1200, I find,

[1] Evans, p. 28.

[2] Ibid, p. 29; also Turner's Anglo-Saxons, Vol. I., p. 458.

[3] This Charter is lost; it was a copy of that granted by the same king to London. The Charter granting to Bristol the right to choose a coroner (Henry II., 1256) expressly states that Bristol is to enjoy the same privileges as London. John Carpenter in the "Liber Albus," A.D. 1419 says "The King's representative in the city has the honour due to an Earl, as well in the King's presence as elsewhere. Hence it is that the sword is borne before him, as before an Earl, and not behind him. In Bristol the sword

however, that the title of Mayor was in use before this, the name of Robert Fitz Nichol, mayor, witnessing therein the transfer of a bakehouse to the church of St. Nicholas.[1]

The effects of the Norman Conquest were most severely felt by the Burgesses, upon whom the dues and customs were levied. Instead of the "*Præpositus*," the Bailiff (Fr. Bailler, to farm out) had jurisdiction. In process of time the over-lord, or King, found that he could obtain larger revenues from the Burgesses than from the Bailiffs, and so, we think, the burgesses regained, and had confirmed to them, their ancient rights, including liberty to elect their own chief magistrate, but the title was again changed to Mayor (Fr. Maieur). The history of Bristol abounds in instances of fierce struggles for the preservation of the right of self-government; these continued, as will be seen, to the days of Chas. II. and James II.

Having thus attempted to show whence the privileges of the Bristol Freemen were derived, and how at times they had to be maintained, let us briefly see in what they consisted, and wherein they differed from the rights of the nation at large. Goods in the 12th century were sold chiefly in open market or fair, and the vendor was liable to an arbitrary toll, imposed by the Lord of the Fee in which the market or fair was held, and so on in every Lordship in which the goods were offered for sale. Passage (landing dues) and Consuetudines'[2] fees claimed by the king's servants, were heavy taxes upon commerce. In A.D. 1164, King Henry II. granted to the burgesses of Bristol that they should be

is, and always has been, borne before the Mayor, who is the King's Escheator. Barrett says "The Mayor, being the King's Lieutenant, giveth place to no man, but unto his majesty. The Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Leicester, Warwick, and Pembroke, the Lords President of the Marches, the Justices of Assize, all have and do give place unto the Mayor. So also the Bishop's predecessors have ever done the like."—p. 83.

Six hundred and twenty-three years undisturbed use is at least equivalent to any Charter. And Bristol's Mayor still maintains the dignity, although he never claims the title of "My Lord."

[1] "Penes me."

[2] "Consuetudines," customary payments, or dues, regal or ecclesiastical, of various kinds, not quite analogous to our "Customs."

quit, of *toll*, *passage*, "*et omni consuetudine*," throughout my whole land of England, Normandy, and Wales, wherever they shall come, they and their goods; commanding that they shall have "all their liberties, acquittances, and free customs fully and honourably as my free and faithful men," and forbidding anyone to disturb them on this account, under a penalty of ten pounds. We presume this exemption was only from *King's tolls*, and not from tolls claimed under private rights, but even so it was an immense boon to commerce for Bristol.

Adrian IV., an English Pope, by a special bull, gave to Henry II. the kingdom of Ireland; and, in 1172, the king, by charter, granted to the men of Bristol the city of Dublin. In the following year he confirmed this charter, and the Burgesses of Dublin were discharged from passage, pontage, and other customs. Hence arose a still closer connection between Dublin and Bristol. A Mayor of Dublin, John Taylburgh *circa* 1200, ratified and witnessed the deed of sale of a house in Mercate (merchant) Street, Bristol, to Peter le Marte, of Bristol. In 1445 some Irishmen in Bristol, were disfranchised for breaking the municipal law common to both towns; they appealed in vain to the King Henry VI., and were only restored to the franchise by compurgation and fine.

When William, the second earl of Gloucester, consequently Chief Lord of Bristol, died, A.D. 1173, he, to the end that his great inheritance should not be divided among females, constituted Prince John, King Henry's youngest son, his heir, on condition that the Prince should marry one of the Earl's daughters, when they had attained a suitable age. He married Isabel, and was created by his father Earl of Gloucester at the age of 18 years. John,[1] on the 31st of March, 1185, was appointed Lord of Ireland. Having in that country squandered his money, insulted the Irish Chieftains, and lost a great part of his army, he returned to Bristol in disgrace.[2] In the 34th Henry II. (1188) he, as John, Earl of Moreton, granted a new charter to the Burgesses of Bristol,

[1] John was knighted by the king on that day. Itinerary of Hen. II., p. 262.

[2] He left Ireland in December of the same year, ibid., 266.

dwelling within the walls and without as far as the boundaries of the town; confirming to them all their liberties and free customs which they had enjoyed in his time, and in that of his predecessors. This charter was witnessed by at least one of the Lords of Fee in Bristol, Maurice de Berkeley, as well as by his brother Robert. From this charter we learn that the Burgesses possessed lands outside their walls, within the boundaries of which their jurisdiction was exercised. When the late Lord Stowell examined this charter he pronounced it to be unique. It is true that when John became King he granted to other towns many of the same privileges, but years elapsed ere the Bristol pattern was thus followed. We give here a mere summary of this document.

That no Burgess should plead or be impleaded, out of the walls of the town, in any plea, except those relating to foreign tenure, not belonging to the Hundred of the town;[1]—that the burgesses should be quit of murder[2] within the walls of the town, and should not wage duel[3];—that no one should take lodgings within the walls, by assignment or by livery of the marshal, against the will of the burgesses[4];—that they should be quit of toll, &c., lastage and pontage[5];—that no one should be condemned in matter of money unless according to the law of the hundred[6];—that the hundred court should be held only once in a week, and that no one

[1] The Tolzey Court exercises this privilege at the present time.

[2] If a man had been slain, and the murderer was unknown, the Lord imposed a fine upon the town; the innocent suffered whilst the guilty might possibly escape.

[3] A mode of trial introduced by the Normans to supersede the ancient method of trial by jury. Heaven was supposed by it to give the victory to the innocent; practically it gave it to the man most skilled in the use of arms. This law, from which Bristol was now exempted, was only repealed in A.D. 1819, by Act of Parliament.

[4] The old view of frank pledge by which the community to which a man belonged was answerable for his conduct was confirmed, and the king's marshall was prohibited from granting licenses by which men might live in the town in defiance of the ancient custom. No other jurisdiction than than that of the people was henceforth to exist within the walls.

[5] Lastage, payable on goods sold by the last, 4000 lb.; pontage, bridge toll.

[6] Forty shillings was the limit.

should be hindered of his plea through a verbal mistake ;—that the lands, tenures, mortgages, and debts throughout the land, and the lands and tenures which were within the town, should be held, claimed, and enjoyed, according to the custom of the town ;—that pleas be held according to the custom of the town, with regard to debts and mortgages lent in Bristol[1] ;—that no stranger should buy of a stranger, nor sell wine, except from his own ship—nor cut cloth by retail, except at fair-time—nor remain in the town more than forty days[2] ;—that no burgess be distrained unless he be debtor or surety[3] ;—that the burgesses might marry without license from the lord ;—that the lords should not have wardship of their sons or daughters by reason of lands out of the town ;—that the burgesses might grind their corn wherever they chose ;—that "*recognition*" (a re-opening of cases which had been decided in court) should be abolished ; hence the rich could not by repeated litigation oppress the poor ; and that the burgesses should not pay tyne, except for the use of the Lord Earl (24 gallons for his use each time he came to the Castle). They also were to have all their reasonable guilds as well or better than they had them in the time of Robert and his son William, Earls of Gloucester ; that all tenures within and without the walls, as far as the boundaries, should be held in *free burgage* : viz., by land-gable service, which they should pay within the walls.

The system of frank-pledge, or neighbour standing surety in all things for his neighbour, had resulted in power falling largely into the hands of the wealthy and influential, hence the Mariners Guild and the Merchants Guild, in Bristol, virtually ruled the borough. Now each craft was allowed to have its own Guild, and one result of this charter was this, that the control of trade passed gradually into the hands of the trade guilds, which in 1449 num-

[1] Debts contracted in Bristol recoverable in Bristol. If toll was taken wrongly from a Bristol man in another town, the Præpositor of Bristol was authorised to distrain upon any property, found in Bristol, belonging to any man of the town wherein the wrong was done.

[2] A residence, within the walls, of a year and a day, would make him a Freeman.

[3] Previously any Bristol man was liable to arrest in any town wherein any other Bristol man owed money.

bered in Bristol 26,[1] each of which had a Hall of its own, besides other smaller guilds without Halls, and sundry religious guilds. These guilds had the right of choosing each its own master or warden, and through these the Præpositor or Mayor. This democratic element was the death blow to Feudal power in the borough. Under the Norman rule, if the Lord of a fee was taken prisoner in battle, he might compel his men to bail him or pay his ransom. Now it is enacted that no man shall be compelled to become bail for another, although he dwell upon his land. All land and tenements in the borough were now to be held in free burgage, viz. : by land-gable service, which was to be paid within the walls. The Burgesses were also permitted to build on the river bank, and on void and waste places, within or without the walls, in the township, so that they did not injure the defences.[2]

In 11th Henry III. the Burgesses of Bristol, upon payment of a fine, obtained a grant that the part of the town called Redcliffe should answer to the county of Somerset, from which it appears that Redcliffe, though within the boundaries of the borough, was no part of it. They also, in this year, paid a fine for having the town at fee-farm, and a further fine for the confirmation of the Charter of Henry II. In 1247, however, another fine was paid for a charter to incorporate the suburb of Redcliffe into the borough of Bristol, and that the Burgesses of Redcliffe should for ever answer with the Burgesses of Bristol before the King's Justices as the Burgesses of Bristol did. And in the 36th year of his reign Henry III. granted another charter, by which he confirmed to the Burgesses of Bristol, and their heirs, the privileges granted by the Charter of King John while Earl of Moreton, granting also the further privilege that the Burgesses might appoint a coroner from among themselves, and that they should not be molested on account of venison[3] found within the walls of the town.[4]

[1] Evans, p. 104. [2] Practically this led to the destruction of the first wall, *circa* 1247, and the completion of an outer embattled wall.

[3] Kingswood ran down close to Lawford's Gate on the east, and Clifton Wood on the west of the town, both of them abounding in deer. Remembering the severe laws of the Norman and Angevin Kings, for an infringement of the Forest Law, this is a most extraordinary concession.

[4] Rot. Cart., 36 Henry III., m. 5.

In 1300, the Burgesses obtained a further charter, granting to the Burgesses, and their successors, that they should be exempt from murage[1] and stallage[2]; that they might have pannage[3] in Kingswood; and choose their Mayor, and present him to the Constable of the Castle of Bristol to be sworn.[4]

In the beginning of the reign of King Edward II., the Mayor and Burgesses appear to have got into trouble, for in 1311, proceedings were taken against the Mayor, Bailiffs, and the whole of the community, because the Mayor and Bailiffs had received and applied to their own use the custom of wool;[5] and in the following year a mandamus was issued to them, commanding them to restore certain persons whom they had disfranchised.[6] In 1315, a complaint was made against them for an act of contempt towards the Governor of the Castle, and the town would seem to have been seized into the king's hands and committed to the Sheriff of Gloucester. Six of the most discreet men of the town were selected by the commonalty from among themselves to answer the complaint at Westminster, but it was not until 1317 that, upon the payment of a fine, the king restored to the town the commonalty,[7] and a writ was issued to the Sheriff of Gloucester to permit the commonalty to enjoy the return of writs, which restored the jurisdiction of the burgesses. This was followed, in 1322, by a charter confirming that of 28th Edward I., and re-granting the liberties. In 1328, the burgesses obtained a charter permitting them to work and sell tin.[8] In 1331, the Mayor and Burgesses presented a petition to the king against Thomas and Maurice Berkeley for compelling the burgesses, by violence, to do suit at their *town*.[9] This, probably, led to the charter of this year, which, after confirming those of

[1] Dues paid on beasts that were brought within the walls. [2] Dues payable for stalls in the market. [3] The right to feed swine in the King's Wood.

[4] As the Mayor of London was, at this time, sworn before the Constable of the Tower of London, so was the Mayor of Bristol to be sworn before the Constable of the Castle of Bristol. The Tower of London was without the city, and the Castle of Bristol, as we have seen, was likewise so circumstanced.

[5] Mad., p. 784. [6] Dy. 332 a. [7] Rot. Pat., 10 Edw. II., Part I., m. 3.
[8] Rot. Pat. 3, Edw. III., m. 28. [9] The town was the sheriff's court.

previous dates, and providing for the security of orphans from the dissipation of their goods by their guardians, states that by an inquisition taken by William Snareshall and Robert de Ashton, and returned into chancery, it had been found that the burgesses and their ancestors and predecessors, burgesses of the said town from time immemorial, had always had view of frank-pledge of the town and suburbs, and the burgesses being fearful that they might be molested or impeded for the same, not having any charter for it, the king granted to them and their successors, being burgesses of the said town, the said franchise of the view of frank-pledge, and expressly stating that non-usuage of these liberties had not, and did not, involve their forfeiture.

A representation having been made to the King in 1347, that many evil-doers and disturbers of the peace wander about the streets of Bristol, day and night, doing all manner of mischief and committing great excesses, the King, being desirous that peace should be strictly kept and the disturbers punished, by his charter[1] of this year, granted to the Mayor, Bailiffs, and commonalty (*probi homines*) and their successors that they might have a prison in the said town, to imprison any evil doers and disturbers of the peace, as is usual in London; and he gave them power to inflict punishment upon bakers who break the assize of bread, as is practised in like manner in regard to bakers in London.[2]

In 1373 the burgesses petitioned the King, stating that the town was situate partly in the county of Gloucester and partly in the county of Somerset, and although Bristol was 30 miles distant from Gloucester and Ilchester respectively, where the county courts, assizes, &c., where held, the Burgesses of Bristol were bound to be present at the holding of the county courts, taking of juries, &c., whereby they were prevented from attending to their shipping and merchandise; whereupon the King, in consideration of a fine of 600

[1] The charter has a fine illustrated initial shewing, in one compartment, the watch driving disorderlies into the prison; and in the other a baker bound upon a sledge, with his false balances hung over his head, driven through the streets.

[2] Rot. Pat. 21 Edw. III., Part. I., m. 32.

marks, granted to the Burgesses, their heirs and successors for ever that the town of Bristol, with its suburbs and precincts, should be in future separate, in all respects, from the counties of Gloucester and Somerset, both by land and water, and that it should be a county of itself, called "the County of Bristol;" that the mayor should be escheator, and that the commonalty, yearly, should elect, from among themselves, three persons, whose names should be forwarded to the King's Council who would make selection of one as Sheriff; that the sheriff should hold his county court monthly, like other sheriffs; that the mayor should hold his court, the profits thereof be to the use of the commonalty as had been accustomed; that no sheriff or officer of other counties should intromit within the town and county of Bristol; that the mayor should swear before his predecessor, and not before the constable of the castle, and the sheriff take his oath before the mayor; that the mayor and sheriff might hear and determine felonies; that the gaol should belong to the burgesses, as well as *infangthef* and *outfangthef*[1]; that felony taken with the mainour[2] should be tried; that no burgess or other person, within the town of Bristol, should be impleaded out of the town; that the mayor and sheriff should have cognizance of all pleas and trespasses; that pleas in the Tolsey Court should be held before the steward, and no other justice should intromit; that the mayor should have power to take recognizances of deeds touching lands, &c., of any person, married women excepted; that the mayor and sheriffs might levy fines concerning lands and tenements, the estreats thereof to be delivered into the exchequer; and that the mayor and sheriffs should receive probate of wills and put them in execution; that all writs should be directed to the Sheriff, Escheator, and Coroner of Bristol, and that the burgesses and their heirs should not be burdened to send more than two men to Parliament, as had been the custom hitherto,

[1] *Infangthef* is a franchise granted to lords of manors to judge any thief taken *within* their fees. *Outfangthef* was a franchise whereby a lord was enabled to call any man dwelling in his manor, and taken for felony in another place *out* of his fee to judgment in his own court.

[2] To be taken with the mainour, or as it is usually written "manour," is where a thief having stolen anything is taken with the same about him, as it were in his hands.

which two men should answer for the same town, both as Knights for the County of Bristol and Burgesses for the town. And that if any difficulty should arise concerning the rules and customs of the town, the mayor and sheriff, and their successors, with the assent of the commonalty of the town, should elect, successively, from time to time, forty men of the better and more honest men to advise with the mayor and sheriff in all difficulties, and to assist them in levying rates and taxes; and the charter concludes with the confirmation of all previous privileges. In 1396, King Richard II. confirmed all former grants, although not used, and directed that the steward, marshall, and clerk of the king's household should not sit in the town of Bristol.

King Edward IV. in the first year of his reign (1461) granted to the mayor and commonalty that they should be exempted from the admiralty jurisdiction, and that no one of the commonalty, nor any burgess for the time being, nor any one residing for the time being within the town, should be compelled to answer any plea before the admiral for anything done upon the seas; and that the king and his heirs would grant commissions to the mayor and recorder for the trial of admiralty causes.[1]

In 1461, King Edward IV., farmed all his royal rights in the burgh to the burgesses for sixty years for a specified sum. These included rights over the under lords, fines, forfeitures, &c., &c., due to him over the goods and chattels of outlaws, fugitives from justice, over waste and townlands, tenements, fairs, markets, assarts,[2] fisheries, wrecks, waife, straife, royal fish, forfeitures, and profits of the itinerant forest court, trespassers in vert and venison in the town, except escheats of land and rents payable to the crown."

[1] William Canynge, the great ship owner, was mayor. "He paid, it is said, 3000 marks to the king for his peace, to be had in 2470 tons of shipping." No doubt he had some influence in procuring this charter.

During the plague in Bristol, in 1545, Nicholas Thorn, the mayor, held the Admiralty Court at Clevedon.

In 1791, Mr. John Noble, then mayor, asserted the right of the mayor as a Judge of Admiralty to a seat on the bench with the judges, and it was allowed.

[2] Forest clearings.

In 1499 Henry VII. granted amongst many other privileges the appointment of the senior Alderman to be Recorder; also a Chamberlain, that the mayor have probate of wills, that all fines shall go to the town without reference to the royal exchequer, that the bailiffs be thenceforth sheriffs of the town and county, and that the mayor shall for ever be the water bailiff.

Henry VIII., A.D. 1510, Edward VI., A.D. 1547, Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1559, and James I., A.D. 1604, confirmed the previous charters to the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty.

In 1626 Charles granted a charter of confirmation, and in 1629-30 he, for the sum of £959, disposed of all his rights in the Castle, as part of our "demesne and parcel of the ancient possessions of the Kings of England," and he decreed that "at the request of our very well beloved Consort, the Lady Henrietta Maria, Queen," it shall be taken out of the County of Gloucester, and "shall for the future for ever be taken as part of the City of Bristol." The king further names the 5th July, 34th Henry VIII. as the day on which Bristol became a city.

A writ of "Quo warranto" was brought against the Old Charter by Charles II.'s attorney-general, Sir Robt. Sawyer, in which the Burgesses are charged with violating their charter by electing upwards of 43 persons as their common council. This was the plea. The real cause of the seizure was, no doubt, a political one. However, the Mayor, Burgesses, and Commonalty surrendered their charters to the King, on the 9th Nov., 1683, confessing that "they had been faulty in that particular." In 1684 Charles restored their privileges by a new charter, making them "a body corporate and politic in deed, fact, and name, by the name of the Mayor, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the City of Bristol."[1] He further granted "a common seal" (although Bristol had used one for 300 years). He fixed the number of the Council at 43, inclusive of the Mayor and Aldermen; and the 15th of September was named as the day of election of the Mayor; the

[1] With the exception of the word "city" this was not a new title. Henry VIII., on May 10, A.D. 1510, and his successors had always used it.

number of Aldermen was limited to 12; the method of their election was stated; the fine for refusal to serve on the Council, if elected, was to be £500; the property qualification was fixed at £2000; a Town Clerk was to be nominated, and thenceforth was to be chosen when needful by the Common Council, &c., &c. It was also ordered that all corn brought by land should be pitched and sold at the Corn Market in Wine Street. That all corn brought by water should be sold in the Market on the Quay. That three cloth fairs should be held in the year, in King Street, and five horse fairs were granted, viz.: two in Temple Street, two on Redcliffe Hill, and one in Broad Street. That the court of "*Pie Poudre*" should be held in each fair; non usage of these privileges was not to involve forfeiture. This charter was signed June 2nd, 36 Chas. II. There are some doubts as to its validity, inasmuch as King James II., before his abdication, by proclamation restored to the city its more ancient charter. Certain it is that between this restoral and the charter of Queen Anne, A.D. 1710, the Burgesses did not act upon Charles II.'s charter; some of them refused to serve on the Council, and their fellow Burgesses did not attempt to enforce the fines. Queen Anne, however, in the charter which she granted on the 24th July, 1710, upon the petition of the Mayor, Burgesses, and Commonalty, treats that of 1684 as a valid document, pardons all who have offended against its provisions, and confirms all previous charters, except where contradicted by the one now granted by herself. The number of the Council was reduced to 42 persons, existing vacancies were, by it, filled up, three of their number were made justices of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, and the royal approbation was no longer held to be necessary for the appointment of the Mayor and Aldermen. Sundry other minor alterations were added.

Before the passing of the Municipal Act in 1835, the Burgesses consisted of: 1.—Freeholders; 2.—Freemen by birth; 3.—Freemen by servitude; 4.—Freemen by marriage with a Freeman's daughter; 5.—Freemen by grant for special service; 6.—Freemen by purchase. The fees payable on taking up the freedom were, for birth or marriage, 10s. 6d.; by servitude, 9s. 6d.; by purchase

the fees were indefinite, sometimes as much as £200 or £300 was paid. In the hotly-contested election, when Burke was returned, 2080 freemen were made during the 27 days it lasted, and freemen's daughters and widows were at a premium.

The growth of constitutional law has outrun many of the ancient privileges which we have here recorded; but one of the uses of this and kindred Societies is to rescue from oblivion the customs of our fore-fathers, and to place upon record the liberties they valued so much as to peril property, person, yea, life itself, in their defence.

We think we have shewn that Bristol men, in different ages, whilst conserving their ancient privileges, not only built up their own municipal greatness, but also contributed largely thereby to the attainment of that greater because "*National Liberty*" in which, at the present day, Great Britain rejoices.

Notices of Recent Archæological Publications.

A KEY TO DOMESDAY, shewing the method and exactitude of its mensuration, and the precise meaning of its more usual formulæ, the subject being specially exemplified by an Analysis and Digest of the Dorset Survey. By the Rev. R. W. Eyton, M.A., late Rector of Ryton, and Author of "Antiquities of Shropshire." London: Taylor and Co. Dorchester: James Foster.

It would be a truism to say that the Domesday Survey is the foundation of all territorial history within the area which it covers. Any light, therefore, thrown upon this ancient record is of the greatest value, not only to the student of local history and of the social condition of the country in the period immediately following the conquest, but also to the lawyer in many questions which, from time to time, arise with respect to legal right and ancient customs. Many learned writers have treated, more or less, on this august record from the time of Sir Henry Ellis's valuable Introduction, published in 1831 after 20 years previous study of the Survey, to the present time; but in no case, we think, have the methods adopted by the Commissioners appointed to make the Survey, and the principles upon which they acted, been made so clear as in the work before us by the well known and able author of the "Antiquities of Shropshire." By a complete analysis he has made Domesday explain itself. His conclusions rest upon facts, facts drawn from the record as relating to the county of Dorset, compared with other facts recorded in the Survey with reference to distant portions of the kingdom, and every theory he has advanced seems to be abundantly supported by citations from the pages of the record.

Mr. Eyton's scope is a wide one. It is no less than to enable "The inquirer to ascertain, with more or less precision, the Domesday antecedent of every locality in Dorset; to distinguish and compare the various classes into which property was then divided, whether a Borough, a Port of Commerce, a Vill, a Manor, a Farm, a Moor, or a Forest—to shew the areal extent of every such estate, or, at least, to show how far such extent may be determined from the text of Domesday—of all occupied territory, whether plough-land, or meadow land, or pasture, or woodland, to shew the ratio of its culture or its uses—to determine the relative wealth of each estate, whether resulting from inherent capabilities, industrial care, or external adjuncts—and co-incidently, to collect and review the hints

which Domesday supplies as to the comparative numbers and condition of an almost exclusively agrarian population." We can only add that he has fully succeeded in accomplishing the task he has thus set before himself.

One of the most perplexing embarrassments the ordinary student of Domesday has had to contend with has been to understand the technicalities and phraseology used therein, especially with reference to the measurements. To this question the author has devoted a somewhat long Introductory Essay, in which he has very successfully explained the difficulty. He has pointed out that in the time of King Ethelred II. (the Unready), 979-1016, the greater part of England, and more than three-fourths of Dorset, had been subjected to the tax called Danegeld, and that for the purpose of making an equal assessment of this tax the Hide was adopted as the basis of assessment; and that for this purpose the hideage of the country was scrutinized and re-adjusted, not measured, but rather valued, and one hide was brought into fair comparison with another. It is necessary to understand the signification of this term, for thereon is the whole system of Domesday taxation based. It is of ancient Saxon origin and never formed a definite areal measure. It signified a homestead and the land annexed to it, whether more or less; but inasmuch as the quantity of land was usually as much as would support a team of oxen, the term *hide* became convertible with the term *carucate*, but it differed from a carucate in being geldable, which a carucate was not. Thus before the Conquest the country was *hidated*, and the Domesday Commissioners, in using the Saxon term, hide, used it as a term of record, and as signifying such a quantity of land as had before been determined to be a hide, and to be geldable as a hide, in King Ethelred's taxation, or later fiscal authority. The Domesday Commissioners of Dorset, he says, got the hideage which they assigned to the Dorset Manors rather from previous records than present inquest; nevertheless the Commissioners themselves, in some few cases, increased the hideage of the most recent Geldroll: viz., that of 1084, but upon what principle does not appear. The same Commissioners, visiting Cornwall, are found to have frequently drawn seeming contrast between the reputed and actual hideage of certain manors. For instance:—"Idem Episcopus (de Execestre) tenet Tregel. Tempore Regis Edwardi Geldabat pro ij hidis, sed tamen ibi xij hidæ." This simply meant, in other terms, that Tregel, though a manor of 12 hides was only geldable for 2 hides, or that 10 hides were prescriptively exempt from geld. "No such formula," Mr. Eyton remarks, "as this is to be found in the Dorset Domesday. Any Dorset Manor of analogous status to Tregel would be recorded in other words, and this simply because a non-geldable hide in Dorset was not called a hide at all. It was a carucate."

He further remarks that in certain cases the Commissioners altered the geldability of manors. It was a principle of the old geld-laws, that not only were the ancient crown demesnes to be absolutely ingeldable, but that the bona fide demesnes of the tenants *in capite* should be exempt from any current geld-levy. Such an exemption under the Normans was simply an equivalent for the military and other services to which the tenants *in capite* were personally liable, and he cites, as relevant, the following

extract from Domesday relative to Brictric fitz Algar's colossal Manor of Tewkesbury.

"In Teodechesberie fuerunt tempore Regis Edwardi, quater viginti et xv. (95) hidæ. Ex his sunt in dominio xlv (hidæ) et erant quietæ ab omni servitio regali et gheldo præter servitium ipsius Domini cujus erat Manerium." The record goes on to enumerate the constituents of the demesne, and then to enumerate the lands forming the balance—of 50 geldable hides. Then it adds:—"Quater viginti et xv. hidas quæ pertinent ad Tedechesberie quinquaginta hidæ supra memoratæ faciebant quietas et liberas ab omni geldo et servitio regali (the 50 geldant hides covered and exempted the 45 non-geldant hides). Hoc Manerium tenuit Brictric filius Algar T.R.E." The exemption was permanent, as to its extent, whatever change the manorial lord might make in the expansion of his demesnes. It was a case of prescriptive and unaltered privilege. The reason of the grant of this privilege Mr. Eyton does not state. The case of Brictric is too well known to be inserted here. The Queen induced the King to deprive Brictric of all his manors and to confer them upon her. After her death, in 1083, they again reverted to the crown.

Hideage was intended to be an index of one or more of three things—liability or exemption; capacity or intrinsic value; and adventitious or extrinsic value. With respect to the first:—When the hidation was originally fixed, it was determined what estates should be free, and remain for ever free, from geld. These estates, if they had ever been called so many hides, now lost that description altogether, and appear in Domesday simply under the constituents of land belonging to them. Of one of such estates the Commissioners say: "Hæc terra nunquam per hidas divisa fuit neque geldavit." In other cases the estates were not entirely exempted, but the liability was limited. These exemptions probably arose from a matter of favour to the grantee, whether a religious house or a favourite courtier. Numerous instances of such beneficial hidation are cited. In ordinary cases, in which no special favour was intended, the hidation was fixed with reference to the actual value of the manor or estate at the time. With the exception of the re-adjustment in the time of King Ethelred no change was subsequently made, hence whatever improvement took place to enhance the intrinsic value would appear at the time of the survey as beneficial hidation. On the other hand, some manors might possess extrinsic advantages of the nature of large extents of out-lying waste land, contiguity to good roads, good markets, &c., &c., which at the time of the survey might have been lost, or the value of the estate be otherwise depreciated, but the hidation would continue just the same, and the result would be what Mr. Eyton calls *super-hidation*.

We return again to the consideration of the *hide* as a quantity. Various conjectures have been, from time to time, offered as to the number of acres it contained, but we believe it is now generally admitted that its extent in acres was always undefined. Mr. Eyton says that in Dorset alone there is an instance of a Domesday hide, being represented by at least 4000 acres, whilst there is another instance of a hide containing not more than 84 acres. According to his computation, however, taking

the whole county, the average number of acres in a hide would be from 230 to 240. He says the hide came to be mistaken for an areal measure from the circumstance that its chief constituent would be its arable land, or quota of plough-land. Practically it happens that the particular hide of most manors appeared in numerical conjunction with its plough-gang; or, as expressed in Domesday, with a "terra ad unam carucam," and the Survey itself indicates that a carucate implied much the same as a hide, only that not having been converted into a hide, and made geldable, it continued to be called a carucate. And this typical carucate of Dorset, he says "resembled a hide in that it contained a single plough-gang with other territorial adjuncts. It differed from the hide in that its essence was nothing but land, and in that its area was much more definite than that of the hide, because, withal, the extents of its adjuncts was much more constant." The plough-gang, the "terra ad unam carucam" differed from the carucate as a part differs from the whole, and it bore the same relation to the hide. Another cause which led to the mis-apprehension as to the nature of a hide, was the fact that it was divided into aliquot parts, and the names given to those parts were suggestive of land measures. The following are the divisions of a geld hide :—

1 Hide = 4 Virgates = 16 Ferndels = 48 Acres.
1 Virgate = 4 Ferndels = 12 Acres.
1 Ferndel = 3 Acres.

but the geld names of the sub-divisions of a geld hide no more signify areal measures than does the term hide itself. Inasmuch as the estates to be gelded were of various sizes, and many of them too small to be assessed as a hide, it was necessary to adopt some designation for the proportions of a hide, and the names were taken from the systems of areal measurement.

There are two descriptions of acre used in Domesday, the acre ad geldum and the Norman acre, corresponding to our present statute acre, which is, in fact, the Norman acre confirmed by the Statute of King Edw. I. That this is the case may readily be tested by a reference to the record itself. We find an estate gelded, say, as two virgates. In such a case it was originally expressed as half-a-hide, and similarly an estate recorded as geldable for, say, 8 acres, simply meant that it was equal to one-sixth of a hide Assuming that a hide contained 240 statute acres, the acre ad geldum, according to the foregoing table, was equal to the 48th part, or 5 statute acres. And this is evident. Let us take a case :—In the Cornish fief of Robert, Earl of Mortaine, Andreas tenet de Comite Carbihan (now Carvean in Probus), Merken tenebat tempore Regis Edwardi et geldabat pro *uno ferling*. Ibi sunt 4 *acræ* terræ, terra 4 carucis. Ibi sunt 2 carucæ et 4 servi, et 2 villani, et 3 bordarii, et 5 *acræ silvæ*, et 20 *acræ pasturæ* Olim et modo valet 10 solidas. The Commissioners in effect say that the manor was 4 geld acres but that in King Edward's time it was gelded as a ferling, that is 3 geld acres, but in naming the constituents, among other things, they say that there are 25 acres of wood and pasture; manifestly these acres were different in extent from the geld acre, or else the greater would be included in the less.

We must now proceed to the consideration of the

Carucata Terræ, and Terra ad unam Carucam.

These, in respect to precision of measurement, were intermediate between the hide and the statute acre, more precise than the former and less so than the latter.

Mr. Eyton does not consider that the term *carucate* was used in England previous to the conquest, but that it was introduced by the Normans, who intended, thereby, an estate closely analogous to the Saxon hide. In support of this theory he refers to the Domesday of Gloucestershire. The geld hide is the same as in Dorset, but in the fief of Strigoil (Chepstow) the Commissioners expressed their quantities uniformly by the carucate, the term hide not being once mentioned. He concludes that as the Saxons never had possession of Monmouthshire the term hide had not been introduced into that district, and that as there was no antecedent hidation the Norman occupants described the land in their own way. In support of this opinion he gives the following extract from the survey :—

"Willelmus de Ow (Ewe) habet de Strigoielg ix libras per consuetudinem ut dicit. In Wales habet isdem Willelmus in feudo iij piscarias in Waie (Wye) Reddunt lxx. solidos ; et in eodem feudo dedit Willelmus Comes Radulpho de Limesi L. carucatas terræ, sicut fit in Normannia" (according to that estimate of the carucate which obtains in Normandy.)

In the Dorset survey the carucate is used as tantamount to the privileged and ingeldable hide, and like the hide implies and contains a single plough-land. A number of instances are cited by Mr. Eyton in support of this statement. We have observed that the hide varied in extent, so also did the carucate, and in Dorset, both the hide and the carucate, averaged about 240 acres. But the terra *ad unam carucam*, or plough-gang, was a different thing from, and in its essence a more constant quantity than, the carucate. "Tantura terræ quantum potest arare una caruca," is, if not quite a definite expression, very nearly so, and the plough-gang may be taken to represent, on an average, 120 statute acres. As the plough-gang represented a team of eight oxen, the sub-division of the "Terra ad unam Carucam" was into 8 Bovates. The term Bovate, Mr. Eyton says, is not used in the Dorset survey, the smallest quantity of arable land mentioned being two bovates, and the description is not "Duæ bovatæ terræ" but "Terra ad duos boves," which was the fourth-part of a "Terra ad unam carucam," or 30 acres.

The Lineal Measures of the Dorset Domesday.

Mr. Eyton's remarks under this head refer only to Dorset, but we presume that they are, like the preceding, more or less applicable to other counties. He says, this was the most precise system of mensuration used in the survey, and was the system by which the meadows, the pastures, the woodlands, and the wilds of Dorset were meted. It was the system commonly in use at the time, and was adopted by the Commissioners to classify the results of their own special enquiries as distinct from what

they obtained, second-hand, from record or tradition. These measurement may be tabulated as under :—

16½ feet	=	5½ yards	=	1 virga or pertica.				
66 feet	=	22 yards	=	4 perticæ	=	1 Acra.		
660 feet	=	220 yards	=	40 perticæ	=	10 Acræ	=	1 Quarantina.
7920 feet	=	2640 yards	=	480 perticæ	=	120 Acræ	=	12 Quarantinæ = 1 Leuua, Leuga, or Leuca.

It is remarked that this table is largely analogous to the existing scale of English measure. The lineal acre is now out of use, and we jump at once from 5½ yards constituting the rod, pole or perch to 40 perches, or a furlong (forty-long). The Normans called this measure a Quarantina, and 12 Domesday quarantines constituted the leuua or "leuga," a measure of length which we have lost, though the term league is still retained, but as containing double the length of the Domesday league. Measurements under this system occur in almost every entry in Domesday, and Mr. Eyton gives many illustrations of its use.

The following Table is given of Superficial or

AREAL MEASURES OF THE DORSET DOMESDAY :—

The lineal perch or virga is taken at 16½ feet, or 5½ yards.

30¼ square yards	=	1	"pertica," or square perch.			
4,840 square yards	=	160	perticæ	=	1 areal acre.	
48,400 square yards	=	1600	perticæ	=	10 areal acres	= 1 sq. quarantine.
580,800 square yards	=	19200	perticæ	=	120 areal acres	= 12 sq. quarantines = 1 areal league.

Our modern system corresponds with this, though the nomenclature is different. We need not pursue this further.

We have endeavoured, we fear at too great a length, in the foregoing remarks to exhibit, as far as possible in the space at our command, Mr. Eyton's views of the important principles which pervade the Domesday Survey of Dorset, and we have done so, especially, because these principles are not limited to the action of the Commissioners in respect to that county, but are generally applicable to the whole survey.

Having dealt very exhaustively, as will be recognised by the foregoing remarks, with the intricate questions pertaining to Domesday mensuration, Mr. Eyton proceeds to treat of the territory surveyed, under the heads, respectively, of Royal Forests, Woods, Pastures, Meadows, Vineyards (of which there were two, both small), Gardens, Orchards, Mills, and Parish Churches and Church Lands ; observing, *in limine*, that of the Terra, as the arable land is technically called in the Record, enough has been said when speaking of the "Carucata," and "Terra ad Carucas." His observations, under each of the other heads, affords most curious and valuable information. He next treats of the various classes of the population, naming them in the presumed order of their degrees of servitude or freedom, beginning with the lowest class, or servi, and rising to the burgesses ; and to the farming stock, referring for particulars under this

head to the Exeter Domesday, in which only for this district, the information is preserved. In the Exchequer Record, which is an abstract of the former, the account of the stock upon the various estates is altogether omitted. Under the head of Domesday Values, Valuations, and Rents, he refers to the progressive valuations from Ethelred's time to that of the great Survey, and points out that in the Domesday valuations are included the profits of the Hundred Courts attached to particular manors, and other incidental manorial profits, which, not being geldable, were not included in the valuations *ad geldum* of King Ethelred's reign. With reference to rents he observes that if the Domesday hide be represented by an area of 240 acres of land, as appears to be the case, then the average value was one penny per acre per annum. Having tested his theories by a very large number of examples, extracted from the Survey, he proceeds to give a schedule of Dorset landholders, supplemented by biographical and other notes. He next proceeds to describe the demesne lands of the crown under two heads: Terra Regis, Vetus Dominicum Coronæ, and Terra Regis, Antiqua Eschaeta Coronæ. The ancient demesnes were free from geld, but the lands which had fallen into the king's hand by escheat continued chargeable with all the burdens which previously pertained to them. These chapters are particularly interesting and instructive, and appended thereto are Tables, in which is shewn a comparison between the Inquisitio Geldi of 1084, and the Survey of 1086 for every manor in the county.

Some very curious and interesting results have arisen out of Mr. Eyton's analysis. With reference to the comparative value of land, and of the produce of land, at the date of the Survey and the present time, he speaks to the following effect:—He takes the value of land in Dorset, in 1086, as averaging $1\frac{1}{20}$ pence per acre per annum, and says it will be rather over than under the mark, and if we put the present value of land in the county as averaging £1 1s. per acre per annum, it will be very near, but also a little over the mark; hence in 800 years land has increased in denominational value 240 per cent., that is, it renders in current money 24,000 per cent. more in 1878 than it rendered in 1086. He says he uses the term denominational value advisedly, for in respect to real value there is an ulterial question. The real value of a thing is its market price, and the real value of money is the more or less of a marketable commodity which it will purchase. In 1086 a shilling would pay the rent of $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres of mixed land, and perhaps pay for two store sheep, or a quarter of mixed corn. It was, therefore, in one case, as efficient and valuable as 240 shillings of our day, and in other cases would purchase as much of marketable produce as 35, or as 60 shillings would now purchase. Then arises the question, why has land increased so much more in real as well as denominational value than the products of land have increased in real value. The answer is that the increase in the value of land has been caused by forces about five times as great as those which have operated upon produce. One fifth only of such forces consists in the specific marketable increase per head, or per quarter, of land products, the remaining four-fifths of such forces consist in the circumstance that land has been brought to produce from four-fold to twenty-fold as much in bulk or quality as it did at the date of the Survey.

Another subject deserves a brief notice. Assuming that the whole Domesday territory of Dorset were divided into 265 parts, there will have been held by :—

The King, either in demesne or by escheat ...	Nearly 36½	such parts.
The Bishop of Salisbury, and other Ecclesiastical persons or bodies	,, 102	,,
The Earls, Barons, and the greater Feudalists...	,, 98	,,
The lesser Feudality, *or Franci*, the King's Thanes, the King's Serjeants, the four Boroughs of Dorset and a few unclassified land-holders	About 28½	,,
	Total 265	,,

The extraordinary feature in this disposition of Dorset lands is, that the Church, with her vassals and dependents, enjoyed more than a third of the whole county, and that her possessions exceeded in extent those of all the Barons and greater Feudality combined.

COURT, HOUSEHOLD, AND ITINERARY OF KING HENRY II., instancing, also, the chief Agents and Adversaries of the King in his Government, Diplomacy, and Strategy. By the REV. W. EYTON, M.A., late Rector of Ryton, and author of the Antiquities of Shropshire. London : Taylor & Co. Dorchester : James Foster, 1878.

THIS is a work of a class of which too few are issued from the English press. An Itinerary of King John was printed by the late Sir Thomas Hardy, as a supplement to his edition of the Patent Rolls of that sovereign. One of Henry III., when visiting the northern counties, is printed in vol xv. of the Archæological Journal. This is compiled from materials supplied by Sir Thomas Hardy, but from its nature is very limited and incomplete ; and there is the Outline Itinerary of King Henry II., appended to Professor Stubb's edition of Benedict of Peterborough, to which Mr. Eyton acknowledges his obligations, and we cannot recall another. Mr. Eyton has rendered an essential service to the Student of English, and indeed, we may also add, French, history, in the publication of the work before us. To the student of exact history, there is nothing so important as dates, "A dated fact," Mr. Eyton truly remarks," is not "merely a fact doubly authenticated in itself, but it usually gives the means of approximating to the dates of other facts ;" and this is the key note to the work under notice. The author does not claim for his book anything "more than to be the diligent and honest work of a mere Indicator, or Registrar, or Compiler of facts." He does not aspire to, but carefully avoids "the domains of historical philosophy and political science," and, in general, the application of the facts he has collected, and "only affects to supply a broad basis of facts, references, dates, places, names, and documents for the use of some genuine and impartial historian who may come

hereafter to review the reign and biography of Henry Fitz Empress ; and who may prefer, rather to take his stand of observation among the things and doings themselves, than to contemplate the twelfth century through the haze or halo of the nineteenth."

This is the task which Mr. Eyton has undertaken, and to the execution of which he has devoted himself with great singleness of purpose, and success. The reign of Henry II. was somewhat a long, active, and turbulent one. He was zealous to promote order and good government in his disorganized dominions, and was continually on the move from place to place. Mr. Eyton has very closely followed his steps, so that there are, comparatively, few days throughout his reign in which his whereabouts is not known. The work is necessarily chronological, tracing the king's acts from day to day, and inasmuch as every event of importance was connected with the court, it is, though a brief, a complete history of the king's reign. It affords, also, the means of tracing the succession of the principle functionaries, ecclesiastical and civil of that time, the bishops, chancellors, and chief justices of England, and the sheriffs of the several counties. The copious personel of the testing clauses of the charters which are cited throughout the work, together with the notes appended, will be of great value to the genealogist, and, whilst not precisely connected with the court, are illustrative of personal history and the social circumstances of the period to which they relate. To the general historian the work will afford the means of establishing the facts and dates of various important events hitherto uncertain, and of rectifying the dates of others which have been erroneously stated, as well as of correcting many historical misapprehensions. Several instances of such results are cited in the preface. As an example, we will quote one of great importance from the body of the work ; viz., the date of the second council of Clarendon. The *fact* of this council having been held was first brought to light by Sir Francis Palgrave, in his "British Constitution," who supposes it to have taken place between the years 1165 and 1176, and most probably between 1170 and 1176. Professor Stubbs, however, in the appendix to his Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough, has, shewn that the latter suggestion of Sir Francis Palgrave is clearly wrong, and gives reasons for fixing the date within the two first months of 1166, but Mr. Eyton, before Professor Stubbs' book was written, had found that the summonses to attend the council were issued in the month of February, 1166, and he has now discovered another very important fact connected therewith, viz., that it was at this council that the king issued to the barons and military tenants *in capite* the letters which commanded them to make a return before the first Monday in lent (which, in this year, was the 13th March), of the constitution of their several fees ; that is, how many of the old feoffment, and how many of the new feoffment, and how many there were in his fee or barony ; and these returns were to contain the names of the knights or sub-tenants who were holding such old or new fees in each barony. We may here remark that the term "old fees" referred to those fees which were constituted before the death of King Henry I., and that the new feoffments consisted of fees created subsequently. Mr. Eyton has also pointed out that a misapprehension had arisen with respect to the incidence of these returns. It

has been supposed that they were intended as the basis for levying the Aid on the marriage of the king's eldest daughter, Matilda, to the Duke of Saxony, but it is now clear, that at the time these returns were ordered the marriage had not been agreed upon, and did not take place until two years afterwards ; consequently when the aid was levied it was naturally based upon these returns as being the latest made. Even Madox fell into the error here pointed out, which arose from the uncertainty of the date on which the returns were obtained. These are the returns which form the basis of the "Liber Niger."

Mr. Eyton's work is indispensable to every student of the history of the time of King Henry II.

PRE-HISTORIC TIMES, as illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages. By SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P,, D.C.L., &c. 4th Edition. London: Frederick Norgate. Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1878.

THE issue of a 4th edition of Sir John Lubbock's valuable work on "Prehistoric Times" is an evidence of the continued, we may add growing, interest in that important subject. The work has been thoroughly revised, and some additional facts have been introduced, without greatly increasing the bulk of the volume.

The science of Pre-historic Archæology is of very recent birth, arising out of the discoveries of geology, itself quite a modern science. Like the latter, it has been received with suspicion and dislike under an apprehension that it induced a tendency to undermine the authority of Revelation and weaken religious faith ; but, as in the case of geology, the prejudice against the recent discoveries relating to the antiquity of man, although very startling, and irreconcilable with Archbishop Usher's Chronology, are, we believe, dying out as not necessarily at variance with the Sacred Scriptures, and that if studied with reverential and conscientious care, must eventually, of necessity, be found to be harmony with revelation.

Sir John Lubbock has, for the last 20 years, been in the foremost rank of the able men who have conscientiously and zealously devoted themselves to the investigation of this subject, and has personally inspected the various fields of the discoveries in all parts of Europe ; consequently, no one has a claim to be heard with greater confidence.

It has been usual to divide Pre-historic Times into three divisions : the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron Ages. Sir John Lubbock divides it into four great epochs.

I.—That of the Drift ; when men shared the possession of Europe with the Mammoth, the Cave-bear, the woolly-haired Rhinoceros, and other extinct animals. This he calls the "Palæolithic Period."

II.—The Later, or Polished Stone Age; a period characterised by beautiful weapons and instruments made of flint and other kinds of stone, in which is found no trace of the knowledge of any metal, excepting gold, which seems to have been used for ornaments. This he calls the "Neolithic Period."

III.—The "Bronze Age," in which Bronze was used for arms and cutting instruments of all kinds.

IV.—The "Iron Age," in which that metal has superseded Bronze for arms, axes, knives, &c.; bronze, however, being still in use for some other purposes.

He considers the Stone period to be divisable into two eras, the implements pertaining to each being totally unlike.

He treats very fully of each of the four ages, dealing with them in inverted order, and Mr. Evans, in his "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain," has, for the sake of convenience, adopted the same course.

According to this arrangement, he first treats of the Iron and Bronze periods, the use of Stone in ancient times, the Megalithic Monuments and Tumuli, and the ancient Lake habitations of Switzerland, all belonging to the later Stone or Neolithic period, which Mr. Evans in some places calls also the "Surface Period." Into these subjects we shall not follow him, having very fully dealt with the remains of this age in our notice of Dr. Keller's Lake Dwellings, in Volume II. of the Transactions of our Society. We propose, therefore, to confine our remarks to the antiquities found of the Palæolithic period, as forming the most ancient evidences, yet discovered, of the presence of man in Europe. The objects embraced under this head may, indeed, be again sub-divided, for those found in the Drift Gravel, in the Ossiverous Caves, and in the Danish Kjökkenmöddings, respectively, differ in type and character.

The Kjökkenmöddings of Denmark are large mounds of shells, found near the sea shore, and a few feet above the level of the water. They are the waste heaps of a population who subsisted almost entirely upon shell-fish; of the species most abundantly used were the cockle, the mussel, and the periwinkle. Among these shells are found flint flakes and rude implements of flint of a peculiar kind, and also the remains of birds and of some mammalia, chiefly the rein-deer, but no trace has been discovered of any cereal substance, or domestic animal.

The Ossiverous Caves, and the remains discovered therein, are of very considerable interest. They are of the Palæolithic period, and consist of the bones of various extinct large mammalia. Taking the Brixham Cave as an example, we find the hairy Rhinoceros, the Urus, the Cave Bear, the Cave Lion, the Cave Hyæna, &c., &c., together with human remains and works of art, such as arrow-heads and knives of flint; and these occur throughout the whole thickness of the deposit, the whole being sealed by a layer of stalagmite of irregular thickness, the formation of which must, it is said, have occupied many centuries. In the caves of Monstier, Le Madelaine, and Savigné, some very curious and surprising discoveries have

been made, consisting of spirited drawings, scratched with the sharp point of a flint on bone, or stone. of which illustrations are given (pp. 339-341). Sir John Lubbock considers that, so far as the present evidence is concerned, the race of men who inhabited these caves, were probably living as some of the Esquimaux do now, and as the Laplanders did a few years ago, and belong to a period intermediate between that of the polished stone implements, and of the great extinct mammalia ; apparently, also, somewhat more ancient than that of the shell-mound builders of Denmark. Before quitting this branch of the subject, we should, however, mention that in some of the caves there exists deposits above the stalagmite, containing polished stone implements of various kinds, intermixed with bones of animals of existing species. These objects are of the Neolithic period, and the relations which they bear to the sub-stalagmite remains would appear to indicate that a very considerable time occurred, during the period of the formation of the stalagmite, in which the cave was uninhabited by either man or beast.

We must not omit to notice, as being of special interest to members of this Society, the remarkable discoveries made in 1871 by the Rev. W. S. Symonds, of Pendock, on the borders of our own district. In a Cave, called King Arthur's Cave, situate on the west side of the Great Dowart Hill, on the right bank of the river Wye, near Whitchurch, in Herefordshire, Mr. Symonds found in a bed of cave earth flint-flakes, cores of chert, and instruments of the same material fashioned by human hands, associated with the remains of the Cave Lion, Hyæna, Mammoth, and other usual cave mammals. Below this deposit was a thin stalactite floor resting on a bed of stratified red sand, containing water-worn pebbles, every one of which must have been derived from the Lower Silurian and Trap rocks, through which the Wye still flows, above Hay, in Breconshire, a distance by the river of seventy or eighty miles. This deposit was three or four feet in thickness, and was considered by Mr. Symonds to have been the deposition of an ancient Wye, which flowed some 300 feet above the level of the existing river, before the district assumed its present configuration of high hills, and deep valleys and gorges. Below this sandy deposit was a thick layer of Stalagmite, under which was found another bed of Cave Earth of considerable depth, which contained remains of the same fauna, with the exception of the bear, among which some few flint-flakes were found, chiefly in the upper layers. Mr. Symonds says : "In that lower Cave Earth are associated the remains of ancient men and the extinct mammalia ; and what with the evidence of the river-bed and the Stalagmites, I doubt if there be better evidence of the antiquity of Man in the records of Cave History."—(Geolog. Mag., Vol. viij. No. 10).

This glimpse of the evidence of the existence of man in ancient alluvial deposits brings us to the most interesting part of the subject, the deposits of the River Drifts. The earliest discoveries of implements fashioned by the hand of man in these gravels were those of Mr. Boucher de Perthes, near Abbeville, in the Valley of the Somme, in the year 1841, but his revelations were so extraordinary, and so irreconcilable with the greatest antiquity theretofore assigned to man, that they were regarded,

both in France and England, as the hallucinations of an enthusiast. In 1859, however, his museum was visited by several eminent English geologists, of whom our author was one, who, after a careful examination of the articles in the museum, and of the gravel-beds in which they were found, unhesitatingly came to the conclusion that M. de Perthe's discoveries were verily genuine. The objects were found some 18 or 20 feet below the surface of the gravel deposit, and nearly 100 feet above the present bed of the river. The objects, which consisted of flint axes, arrow-heads, and other articles, were wholly unlike any with which antiquarians were previously familiar, but were pronounced by Professor Ramsey, to be as clearly works of art as any Sheffield whittle ; and, what is perhaps still more remarkable, they closely resembled implements found in England, in like alluvial deposits, in the last century, when they were described and figured in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.

In order to arrive at an estimate of the approximate period of the deposit of the River Drifts, and consequently of the presence of man in Europe, as evidenced by the remains found in these gravels, numerous theories have been propounded, which Sir John Lubbock brings before the reader. They are of very great interest, and involve changes, geological, astronomical, and climatic, of the most stupendous character, and demand for the accomplishment of the results required, periods of hundreds of thousands of years, periods which cause even the authors of the theories to shrink from the results of their own calculations. Sir John Lubbock, however, says : "Our belief in the antiquity of man rests not on any isolated calculations, but on the changes which have taken place since his appearance ; changes in the geography, in the fauna, and in the climate of Europe. Valleys have been deepened, widened, and partially filled up again ; caves through which subterranean rivers once ran are now left dry ; even the configuration of land has been materially altered, and Africa finally separated from Europe." And, he adds, it may be doubted whether even geologists yet realise the great antiquity of our race.

Sir John Lubbock has added several chapters on the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages, and the social condition of the various tribes in illustration of that of our own ancestors when in a similar degree of civilisation. These chapters will be read with much interest, independently of the specific purpose for which they are introduced.

WORFIELD ON THE WORFE, in and near the Severn Valley, being a brief History of Worfield, in the county of Shropshire and Diocese of Lichfield. By Samuel B. James, M.A., Vicar of Northmarston, and formerly Editor of the Church of England Magazine. London : Bemrose and Sons.

The circumstances in which this little volume is printed, being in affectionate remembrance of a deceased husband, and a memorial of a zealous and devoted parish priest, in some measure protects it from criticism. Though called a "History of Worfield," the editor very properly disclaims for it that character. It consists of memoranda and notes, relating to the parish, collected by the Rev. C. F. Broadbent, for 37 years its Vicar,

and is published, after his decease, by his widow, under the editorship of Mr. JAMES. We cannot, by any means, say she has been fortunate in the selection of an editor. His style is very objectionable, and he seems to have had very little acquaintance with archæological subjects. We need only refer to the title wherein he speaks of the "County of Shropshire," as a specimen of his "slip-shod" style. The work, however, contains some notes, both ancient and modern, which are interesting, especially to those acquainted with the locality, and is prettily illustrated, though the execution of the illustrations is very feeble.

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS OF BEAUCHIEF ABBEY, By SIDNEY OLDALL ADDY, M.A., Oxon. Oxford and London: James Parker and Co. Sheffield: Leader and Sons, 1878.

IT IS to be regretted that in the preparation of this work the author did not carry out his original intention of editing, with additions, the HISTORIAL ACCOUNT OF BEAUCHIEF ABBEY, by Dr. Pegge. That work contains the cartulary of the Abbey, and has become scarce and costly. A new edition of it, therefore, enriched with notes by Mr. Addy, would have been of great value, especially with the matter in this volume added as a supplement.

The Abbey of Beauchief was of the Premonstratensian Order, which followed the Rule of St. Augustine, of which Rule the author gives a brief abstract. This is followed by a short historical account of Beauchief. It was founded by Robert Fitzranulph as an expiation of the share he had in the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whose memory it was dedicated.

The Obituary of the Abbey is here printed for the first time, though an abstract of it in the Bodleian has been several times printed, and is incorporated in Dr. Pegge's work. This obituary is unusually full, but its value is lessened by a too general absence of annual dates. The Visitations of the Abbey, which extend from 1278 down to the beginning of the 16th century, are very interesting, and afford some curious glimpses of the interior working of the monastic principle. There is also much other interesting information.

The work is prepared in a scholarly manner, and much learning and ability are displayed in the notes, whilst the printing and general "get up" reflect great credit upon the firm of Messrs. Leader and Sons, the printers and publishers.

WALKS IN LONDON, by AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE, author of "Walks in Rome," "Cities of Northern and Central Italy," "Wanderings in Spain," etc. London: Daldy, Isbister, and Co.

This is a charming work, interesting alike to London residents and their "country cousins" visiting town. Mr. Hare truly says: "Few,

indeed, are the Londoners who see more than a small circuit around their homes, the main arteries of mercantile life, and some of the principal sights. It is very easy to live with eyes open, but it is more usual, and a great deal more fashionable, to live with eyes shut. Scarcely any man in what is usually called 'Society,' has the slightest idea of what there is to be seen in his own great metropolis, because he never looks, or still more, perhaps, because he never enquires; and the architectural and historical treasures of the city are about as unknown to the West End as the buried cities of Bashan, or the lost tombs of Etruria."

Mr. Hare, from his boyhood, has given great attention to the study of Old London, and in the work before us he has endeavoured to open the eyes of all who are not wilfully blind, and we have the result of his labours in a compendious form. In his "Walks in London" he has visited the greater number of the old houses of historic interest, giving brief notices of the illustrious dead by whom they were respectively built or inhabited. The remains of the old monastic establishments and the ancient churches receive also a share of his attention, architecturally and historically. The plan he has adopted in describing the objects of interest he visited consecutively, as he saw them, is much to be commended. As might be expected, not a few errors may be detected, but in a work of this kind they are inevitable. The work is prettily illustrated by well-executed vignettes of curious houses and churches, and other objects of interest. Below (fig. 26) is a general view of the Charter House, founded in 1371, by Sir Walter Manny, for a Carthusian Convent. The story of the dissolution of

Fig. 26.

the house is touchingly told in Mr. Hare's pages. The buildings, after passing into the possession of successive families, became vested in Sir Thomas Sutton, who founded an hospital for aged men, and a school for the children of poor parents. The school was removed in 1872 to Godalming, but the rest of Sutton's foundation remains where he left it.

The grand old church of St. Bartholomew, the Great, is briefly described. The choir, with the first bay of the nave and portions of the transepts only now remain. The choir has a triforium and a clerestory, and is entirely surrounded by an ambulatory. The narrow stilted horse-stone arches of the apse are very curious. The House was founded in the 12th century by one Rahere or Rayer, who is described by Stow, as "a pleasant-witted gentleman and the king's minstrel." The legend of the foundation and its subsequent repute are given by Mr. Hare, as well as various anecdotes connected with it.

Fig. 27.

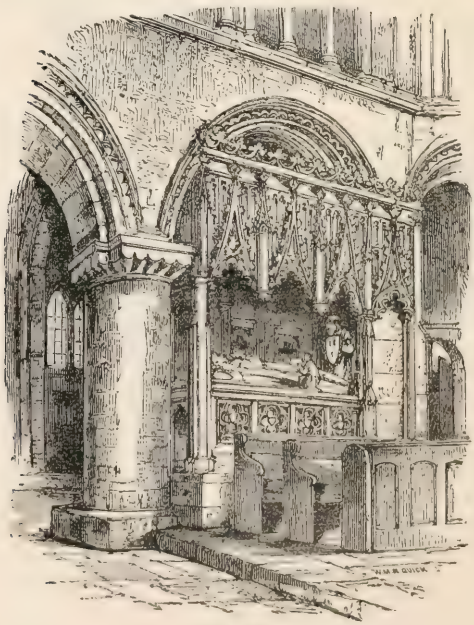


Fig. 28.

On the north of the choir is a tomb, erected in the 15th century, in memory of Rahere, the founder of the Priory (fig. 28). It has a beautiful groined canopy. At the foot of the effigy stands a crowned Angel, and on each side kneels a Monk, with a bible open at Isaiah, chap. LI., and the words: The Lord shall comfort Zion. He will comfort all her waste places; and He will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody.

MEMORANDA, HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL, relating to the PARISH OF KELSTON, in the county of Somerset. By the Rev. Francis J. Poynton, Rector. Part II. privately printed, 1879.

In the volume of the Transactions of the Society for last year (p. 173), we briefly noticed the 1st part of this work, which related, chiefly, to the succession of the Rectors of Kelston. We have now before us the 2nd Part, which embraces the geneaology of the family of Harington, of Kelston, and of several other families, more or less connected with the parish. It contains a large number of monumental inscriptions, collected from the Cathedral of Bristol, Bath Abbey Church, the Parish Churches of Kelston, Bitton, &c., with the blazon of the arms therein. Among these is a *fac-simile* of the remarkable monument, which Henry Harington, M.D., who was an accomplished musician, set up in 1749, in Kelston Church, to the memory of his ancestors. To a marble slab is affixed a brass plate, whereon is engraved an anthem: "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they shall rest from their labours," with the musical score, composed by himself. Mr. Poynton prints also the original Grant of Arms to the Harington family, 1568; extracts from wills and from the parochial registers of Bitton and other parishes. His work shews a remarkable amount of industry, care, and attention, and we are glad to see that he proposes to issue a 3rd Part.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Poynton has not paged this Part in continuation of the former, especially as it indicates that he does not contemplate adding an Index.

EXTRACTS FROM PARISH REGISTERS, &c. By Reginald Stewart Boddington. Privately printed, 1879.

This little brochure contains extracts from parish registers, marriage licences from the vicar-general's office, extracts of wills, monumental inscriptions, &c., relating to the family of Boddington and other families. Although privately printed works of this class are mainly of interest to the families concerned, they are frequently of great value, far beyond that area, to the historian and genealogist, and we hail, with satisfaction, their now more frequent issue. Mr. Boddington would appear to have executed his task with intelligence and care.

A HISTORY OF ALTRINCHAM AND BOWDON, with an account of the Barony and House of Dunham. By Alfred Ingram. Altrincham: Mackie, Brewtnall & Co., 1879.

Altrincham, or, as it was anciently written, and is still pronounced "Altringham," is a town in the parish of Dunham, about three miles from Manchester, and was formerly a fee of the Barony of Dunham Masci. It was made a free borough by Hamon de Massey, or Masci, who, in 1290,

granted to the Burgesses a gild-merchant, with all the liberties thereto pertaining, and other privileges. The history, now under notice, of this place has been prepared by Mr. Ingham in the intervals of his leisure as a journalist—intervals, we apprehend, both infrequent and brief.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, Dunham was held by Hamo, a Norman, and Mr. Ingham has traced the devolution of the manor to the present time. Hamon de Masci, the last of his race, sold the reversion after his death to Oliver de Ingham, Justice of Chester, whose descendants carried it in marriage to the Booth family, afterwards Earls of Stamford and Warrington, of which family a good memoir and pedigree are given.

Mr. Ingham's history bears evidence of a considerable amount of patient research among local records. He gives a good account of the old Parish Church and its Monuments, and some curious and interesting extracts from the parish registers, together with the list of the Vicars from the 13th century; and he furnishes us with a vivid description of old customs obtaining in the town.

The County of Chester would seem to have been a very primitive district down to a recent period. As late as 1609, Smith remarks that in building and furniture of their houses, till of late years, they used the old manner of the Saxons. For they had their fire in the midst of the house, against a hob of clay, and their oxen under the same roof; but within these 40 years it is altogether altered, so that they have builded chimneys, and furnished other parts of their house accordingly.

The Burgesses of Altringham possessed a cucking-stool for the punishment of scolding women and cheating bakers and brewers, a course of discipline which, probably, is not less needed even now, for the correction appears to have been effective except for the first class of these offenders, for whose punishment a brank also, which would completely bridle the tongue, was required.

These instruments are of no great antiquity in England. The earliest known is at Walton-on-Thames, which is dated in 1635, and bears this distich:—

CHESTER presents WALTON with a bridle to curb women's tongues that talk to idle; and according to tradition, it was given to the use of that parish by a gentleman who lost an estate in consequence of the indiscreet babbling of a mischievous woman to a kinsman from whom he had great expectations. From the frequency with which these instruments are found, their use must have been very common, though it is believed it never was a legal punishment. The punishment for scolding women was, and we believe legally still is, the cucking-stool. From the date above quoted, the punishment would seem to have been a very common one, especially during the reign of Charles II., including the Commonwealth and down to the end of the reign of William III. In the time of Queen Anne branks began to go out of favour, though Dr. Ormerod, in his History of Cheshire, published 1819, after mentioning that a cucking-stool was in existence at

Macclesfield, in the last century, adds, "and *there* is also yet preserved an iron brank, or bridle, for scolds, which has been used within the memory of the author's informant."

The branks vary very much in construction and character; see an article on the subject in Archæological Journal, vol. xiij., p. 256, and also in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 1st series, vol. II., p. 8, where there are illustrations of different patterns, but they all agree in this, that they possess a piece of iron which is placed in the mouth and keeps down the tongue, being kept in its proper position by a framework of iron around the head, and somewhere in the frame is a ring, or staple, to which a chain was attached, wherewith the culprit was led about the town by the beadle.

The Altrincham "brank" is very simple in its construction. A single hoop, jointed in three places, surrounded the head and face, to which hoop the gag was affixed, whilst to keep it steady a curved piece of flat iron, perforated to receive the nose, passed over the forehead and clipped the crown of the head behind. The leading staple was at the back (fig. 29). Mr. Ingham states that Brushfield, who had written a work on Obsolete Punishments in the county of Chester, in mentioning this brank, says, "the gentleman to whom I am indebted for the loan of this specimen (Mr. Mort, of Altrincham), informs me that he saw it used upon an old woman about 35 years ago." This brank is almost identical in character to one preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, which is figured in the Archæological Journal, vol. XIII., p. 265. The Altrincham specimen is now lost.

Fig. 29.

Fig. 30.

Mr. Ingham brings under notice another brank, which formerly belonged to the town of Carrington, and is now in the Warrington museum. It is of better construction than the Altrincham example. The gag is more neatly formed, and the framework is supplied with three rings, to which the chain might be attached, and it admitted of being adjusted to heads of different sizes (fig. 30)

Mr. Ingham's work contains much other interesting matter, especially so is his lively description of Altrincham and its customs and amusements only half a century ago. We can scarcely realise the fact that so lately as the 19th century, the prisoners confined in the "Lock-up," in the centre of the town, were exposed to the idle gaze through the barred windows of the passers by, and the timid curiosity of the school children.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO A HISTORY OF THE CISTERCIAN HOUSES OF DEVON. By J. BROOKING ROWE, F.S.A., &c. Plymouth: W. Brendon and Son, 1878.

THESE Papers are reprinted from the Transactions of the "Devonshire Association." They do not purport to contain a history of each Abbey, though the Houses of Buckland and Buckfast have been somewhat fully treated; and Mr. Brooking Rowe desires the whole of his collections to be considered as supplementary to the works of Dugdale and Oliver, modestly suggesting that it "may be of assistance to the author, who, at some future period, undertakes to write a full history of these religious houses, the inmates of which did so much to make our county a good land—a land of wheat and of barley, of flocks and of herds."

There were five religious houses of the Cistercian Order in the county of Devon—Buckland, Buckfast, Newenham, Dunkeswell, and Ford,—but, with the exception of the latter, the existing remains of them are very scanty indeed. Of each of these houses Mr. Rowe has given a concise account, treating more fully, as stated above, of the two former than of the others. He traces each of them from its foundation to its dissolution, refers briefly to the various Abbots, enumerates the possessions of the several Houses, gives an account of the subsequent devolutions of the lands, and describes what remains of the buildings. In carrying out his purpose he seems to have consulted every author within his reach; but, what is more important, he has printed a large number of original documents, Charters, Fines, Proceedings in Courts of Law, and other records, which are not found in the collections of Dugdale, or of Dr. Oliver. The researches of the latter, in the preparation of his learned work, the "Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis," were almost exclusively limited to the Diocesan Registers of Exeter, with which he was intimately acquainted, and to the Muniments at Wardour Castle.

Some of Mr. Rowe's notices of the various Abbots are very interesting. That on Gabriel Donne, the last Abbot of Buckfast, will be particularly so to the members of our Society who have read the valuable memoir on the "Tyndales, of Gloucestershire," by the Rev. William Bazeley, printed in the first Volume of our Transactions. Gabriel Donne was a student in Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards a Monk of the Cistercian House of Stratford, co. Middlesex. His abilities and zeal brought him into notice, and he was employed by Cranmer, More, and others, to assist in the apprehension of Tyndale, at Antwerp. To effect this, he accompanied, in the disguise of servant, one Henry Phillips, "a tall, comely, good-looking young man," who travelled as a gentleman, acting as his councillor and adviser. And there can be little doubt, Mr. Rowe says, "that he was the author of the plan which resulted in the capture, imprisonment, and death of Tyndale. Donne resided for six months after Tyndale's arrest with Phillips, or Buckenham, at Louvain, assisting in preparing the case against Tyndale. He returned to England in June, 1535, and was shortly afterwards thrust into the Abbey of Buckfast, doubtless as a reward for his services to the King, the Archbishop, Bishops, and Cromwell. In June,

1536, he attended the meeting of Convocation, at St. Paul's, and signed the articles then promulgated as Gabriel, *Abbas de Buckfastria*."

"Within two years of his election he alienated much of the monastic estates, and on 25th February, 1538, betrayed his trust, and surrendered the house with its belongings into the hands of the King; and within fifteen months after was rewarded with a large pension. The Prior of Plympton alone, among all the heads of religious houses in this county, receiving so much." This pension of £120, which Mr. Rowe estimates to be "worth £1800 of our money, was enjoyed by him until his death, in 1558. On 16th March, 1541, he was made Prebendary of St. Paul's, and three years later Cromwell gave him the rectory of Stepney, *sine cura*. Upon Bonner's deprivation in September, 1549, Cranmer, according to Strype, constituted Gabriel Donne residentiary of St. Paul's, to be his official and keeper of the spirituality, and to exercise all manner of episcopal jurisdiction, in the said city and diocese." He died 5th December, 1558, and was buried before the high altar, in Old St. Paul's, four days afterwards. Mr. Rowe adds: "Donne was, doubtless, a time-server, and trimmed his sails according to the varying breezes of the time. His share in the persecution of Tyndale cannot be excused, but he sinned with Sir Thomas More, Archbishop Cranmer, and others not less distinguished. The great blot upon his memory must ever be his consenting to be forced upon the Monks of Buckfast as their Abbot, taking the solemn oaths he was compelled by the rules of his Order to take, well knowing that he was sent to his monastery for a purpose, and that in a short time he would be called upon to fulfil the undertaking he had doubtless given, betraying the solemn trust committed to him, become a perjured man, and an accomplice in an act of sacrilege and robbery."

We must not conclude these remarks without commending the manner in which the work has been printed by Mr. Brendon, of Plymouth, the contractions in the original latin documents being, on the whole, very accurately rendered.

A GENEALOGICAL AND HERALDIC HISTORY OF THE LANDED GENTRY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. By Sir Bernard Burke, C.B., LL.D., Ulster King of Arms. Sixth Edition. London: Harrison and Son.

There is no work upon the subject upon which this book treats more popular or more useful than Sir Bernard Burke's "History of the Landed Gentry." The learned author would, however, be the last to claim for it the authority which his name and office would seem to imply. It is not an *official* work. The pedigrees and arms are doubtless accepted by the author as vouched by the members of the families to which they are assigned. Great labour has been entailed in the preparation of this, as of former editions, and the enquiries made from the heads and collaterals of the several families, have, we are told, brought thousands of communications from those most competent to improve the work, and it is clearly upon

the correctness of these communications that the accuracy of the work rests. It is not a record of the *Gentry* of the kingdom, but of the landed proprietors, and it is painful, on comparing this edition with the earlier ones of the same work, to see the changes which have taken place. Many old names, with ancient lineage, have disappeared, and many new ones have been introduced, the representatives of which, in numerous instances, do not claim a descent beyond their grandfathers, shewing that the possessions of the ancient territorial families are passing into other hands, in their turn to become the founders of families.

The new edition is produced in a style equal to that of any of its predecessors, and no public library, or library of a country gentlemen, should be without a copy.

AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY THE ARMS FORMERLY EXISTING IN THE WINDOWS OF THE PARISH CHURCH AND AUSTIN FRIARY OF WARRINGTON. By WILLIAM BEAMONT, ESQ., and J. PAUL RYLANDS, F.S.A. Warrington : Percival Pearse, 1878.

THE windows of the Parish Church of Warrington, and also those of the Augustinian Friary there, like those in many other noble churches throughout the land, were formerly enriched with armorial glass, displaying the arms of the nobles, knights, and gentlemen who had, in some way or other, been benefactors to the churches, and the memory of whose liberality it was thus designed to perpetuate. As the windows at Warrington did not contain anything which the narrow-minded bigotry of the middle of the 16th century could call superstitions, they escaped the havoc of that age and remained intact in 1572, when notes of those in Warrington Church were taken, as is supposed, by Simon Erdeswicke, the Shropshire historian; and in 1640 they still remained secure, and similar notes were taken by Rundle Holme, of Chester. It is presumed they were destroyed during the great rebellion. None of them existed at the commencement of the present century, except one shield, which contained the arms of Richard Delves, Rector of the Church, who died in 1527, and this, shame to say, was destroyed at the so-called *restoration* of the church in 1860.

Printed by C. T. JEFFERIES AND SONS, Canynge Buildings, Bristol.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol & Gloucestershire Archæological Society,

1878-9.

Part II.

Transactions at the Winter Meeting of the Society, held at Gloucester,

ON

Wednesday, 5th February, 1879.

The Winter Meeting of the Society, for reading Papers, &c., was held at Gloucester on Wednesday 5th February, 1879. A Meeting of the Council for the transaction of the general business of the Society, was, with the permission of the Mayor and Town Council, held at the Tolzey in the afternoon, and, according to the usual custom, the members dined together at the "Bell" Hotel in the evening; C. J. Thomas, Esq., the President of the Society, took the chair. There was a tolerably full attendance of members. At eight o'clock the members assembled in the Lecture Theatre of the "Science and Art Department." C. J. Thomas, Esq., again presided. Among those present were Sir W. V. Guise, Bart., President of the Council; Sir David Wedderburn, Bart.; Sir John Maclean; Mr. W. P. Price; Mr. J. D. Thomas Niblett; The Rev. W. Bazeley; Rev. W. T. Allen; Mr. P. Hallett, General Secretary; Mr. J. Waller, Local Secretary, &c.

The Rev. W. Taprell Allen, Vicar of St. Briavels, read a Paper on *The Castle of St. Briavels*, in illustration of which he exhibited a number of plans and other drawings. Mr. C. J. Thomas, also exhibited a beautiful drawing of the Castle, on the back of which is written: "By Lt. Col. Wm. Booth, Rl. Engineers, 76 years of age, 64 years in His Majesty's Service," which Mr. Thomas very kindly presented to the Society.

Mr. Allen very carefully described the building as it now remains. He stated that it was believed to have been erected by Milo Fitz Waller, about 1131, observing that various additions and alterations had been made from that date down to a recent period. He also traced the history of the Castle, giving many interesting particulars in connection therewith. A discussion followed, in which several members took part. There was also exhibited an ancient MS. Volume, which had formerly been, for many years, in the possession of the keeper of the Castle, but which is now the property of Kedgwin Hoskins Fryer, Esq., Town Clerk, Gloucester.

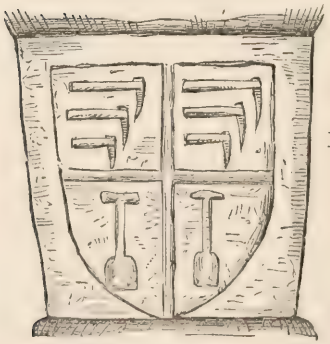
A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. ALLEN for his valuable Paper, which will be found printed in this volume; and also to C. J. THOMAS, Esq., for presenting to the Society the beautiful view of the Castle, which he had exhibited.

Mr. J. D. THOMAS NIBLETT, F.S.A., exhibited a series of drawings of escutcheons of Arms, from the Church of Abbenhall, in the Forest of Dean, having reference to the *Free Miners* and *Free Smiths of Dean Forest*. He said he was glad to be able to bring before the meeting this evening some facts not generally known, and of special interest to students of heraldry, a science now cultivated in elucidation of history, and often found most useful in establishing dates. He remarked, that in mediæval times there would seem to have been, in the Forest of Dean, Guilds or Fraternities of Free Miners and Free Smiths, and that each had its own distinctive coat of arms. In proof of this he called attention to the drawings which he exhibited, observing that within the tower of Abbenhall Church is an octagonal font of 15th century work, on each face of which, within a quatrefoil, is a shield of arms. The sculptures are very rudely executed, doubtless by some local mason, but, he remarked, the sand-stone of the forest, is, at all times, a very hard and stubborn material to carve.

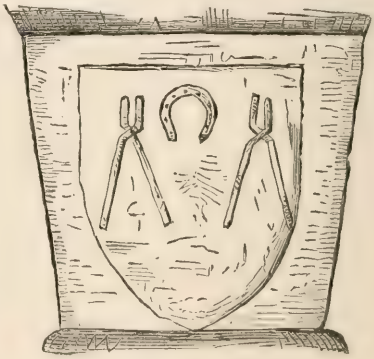
No. 1, to which he first directed attention, was the Cross of St. George; *or, a cross gu.*

No. 2—Stafford, Dukes of Buckingham, the wealthy and powerful Lords of Thornbury Castle, in this county; *or, a chevron gu.*

No. 3 represents the arms of the Free Smiths. The tinctures, he said, were not known, but he considered the colours, black and



(Fig. 32)



(Fig 31)

white would be suitable, and suggested that the blazon should read: *sa. two horse shoes, between as many Smith's tongs, all pale-wise ar,* (*See Fig.* 31)

No. 4—Is intended to represent the arms of the Free Miners. They are shewn as in the margin *(fig.* 32*)*, but, perhaps in consequence of the ignorance of the village mason, they are inaccurate, he would defer giving the blazon of this coat until he treated of the tower, on which the shield again occurred in a more correct form.

No. 5—*Gules a fess between six crosses crosslet*, Beauchamp, Earls of Warwick.

No. 6—*Or, a fess gules.* Abbenhall, of Abbenhall.

No. 7—*Argent, a chevron, between three dolphins, embowed, sable.* Serjeaunt of Hart's Barton, Longhope. He remarked that the same arms occurred in the north aisle of the Church of Micheldean, and that without the information derived from the shield there, the arms at Abbenhall are so rudely cut that they would be unintelligible.

No. 8—Beauchamp as before.

Adverting to the outer face of the west wall of the tower he said the shield of the Free Miners occurred there again, and with reference to the arms, he observed that no tinctures were shewn, nor, indeed, known, but considering the colour of the mineral earth, he thought we might fitly adopt red for the sake of distinction, and blazon the shield as:—Quarterly, 1st & 4th *Gules, three miners' picks in pale or*, 2nd and 3rd, *or, two shovels in fess, handles upwards, gules.* On the sinister side of the shield, within the cusping of the quatrefoil, appears a human head, wearing a miner's cap, peeping, "he said," "round the corner like Tom of Coventry;" adding, "possibly, it represented Ralph de Abbenhall or one of the family—the Crawshays of their day." (fig. 33.) The arms of the Free Miners and the Free Smiths are engraved in Nicholls' "Iron-making in the Forest of Dean," p. 26, and we are indebted to the courtesy of the publisher, Mr. C. C. Hough, of Coleford, for the use of the blocks.

(fig. 33)

Mr. NIBLETT further remarked that on the shield of the Free Smiths, on the font, *(fig.31)* the horseshoe in base is nearly obliterated but that evidences of it exist; and that the font was painted, as there were traces of it. Mr. GRIGG, the Rector, has, he understood, emblazoned colour upon all the shields, and this quite recently.

In the brief discussion which followed the delivery of MR. NIBLETT'S address, Sir JOHN MACLEAN remarked that he did not see what connection the arms of Beauchamp and Stafford had with the Free Miners and Free Smiths of the Forest of Dean, nor did it appear that these great Nobles were, in any way, connected with the Parish of Abbenhall; and with

respect to the shields charged with the tools, he suggested whether they might not be regarded rather as "trade marks" than coats of arms.

A vote of thanks was given to MR. NIBLETT for his interesting address.

The Rev. W. BAZELEY, Rector of Matson, next read a Paper on the *Earls of Gloucester*. He said, in commencing, that it had originally been his intention to give, this evening, some account of the Dukes of Gloucester, and to speak of the Earls at some future time; but that at the suggestion of two of the leading members of the Society he had changed the order of his procedure, observing that he thought that in order of date the Earls had certainly a prior claim, adding that, moreover, they were more closely connected with the local history of Gloucestershire than were the Dukes. He further observed that the subject was one to which justice could not be done, in its entirety, in the time allotted to him, and that he should, therefore, this evening, confine his remarks to the first, and by no means the least noble, of the Earls after the Conquest, Robert of Caen, the illegitimate son of King Henry I. Having given a very interesting historical account of this great Earl, and of the turbulent period in which he lived, which will be printed in this volume, MR. BAZELEY concluded by expressing a hope that his hearers would agree with him in thinking that it was certainly within the limits of the researches of the Society to collect the scanty records of the great and noble men, who, centuries ago, inhabited and loved the fertile plains and bold uplands of Gloucestershire.

A vote of thanks was given to MR. BAZELEY.

Mr. J. H. COOKE, F.S.A., read a Paper on the *Great Berkeley Lawsuit of the 15th and 16th centuries*, which will be printed *in extenso* in this volume.

The thanks of the Society were given to Mr. COOKE for his Paper, and on the proposal of SIR WILLIAM GUISE, a similar acknowledgement was made to the Chairman; and Mr. THOMAS having briefly replied the meeting broke up.

It was intended to form a Temporary Museum, but the objects contributed were very few, comprising, chiefly, a number of interesting old engravings of Gloucester Cathedral and Woodchester Priory, kindly lent by MR. CONWAY JONES, of Gloucester, who also exhibited, on behalf of Mr. STEED, a number of "remains," found in the course of excavations in Bull Lane, in Gloucester, including some bones and glass and other vessels.

PEDIGREE, SHEWING THE DESCENT OF THE FAMILIES, PARTIE

To illustrate "A

Maurice IV., 9th Lord Berkeley, d. 1368. = Elizabeth, da. o Lord Spencer.

Margaret, da. and heiress of Gerard Warren, Lord de Lisle and Tyes, d. 1391. = Thomas IV., 10th Lord Berkeley, d. d. 1417.

James, m. Isabel, da. of Sir John Bloet.

Rich. Beauchamp, E. of Warwick, d. 1417. = Elizabeth, d. 1422, bur. at Kingswood Abbey.

A daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford, died young, s.p. (1st wife).

Ja 11 Be di (2

Maud, da. of Lord Furnival (1st wife) = John, Ld. Talbot, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury, d. 1453. = Margaret, 2nd wife, d. 1467.

Elianor, m. Edmd. Beaufort, E. of Dorset, 1444, and D. of Somerset, 1446, 2nd hus.

El m. Ne Lo mo

The Earls of Shrewsbury.

Joan, da. of Sir Thos. Cheddar. = John Talbot, cr. Visct. Lisle, d. 1453.

Margaret, da. of William Herbert, E. of Pembroke. = Thos. Talbot, Vis. Lisle, killed at Nibley Green, 1469, s.p.

Margaret Geo. Vere s.p.

Elizabeth, d. 1487. = Sir Edwd. Grey.

Sir John Grey, Vis. Lisle, m. Myriell, da. of Thos. Howard, E. of Surrey, & D. of Norfolk.

Margaret, m. Ed. Stafford, E. of Wiltshire, d. s.p.

Anne, m. Sir John Willoughby, d. s.p.

Elizabeth

Edmu behead VIII.,

Anne, da. of Sir Ed. Guildford.

John Dudley Lisle, E. of W D. of Nor land, beheade 1553.

Elizabeth, m. Henry Courtenay, E. of Devon, d. s.p.

Anne, da of Fras. Russell, E. of Bedford, 3rd wife, d. s.p., 1603. = Ambrose, cr. E. of Warwick, 1562, d. s.p., 1590.

Robert, cr. E. of Leicester, 1564, d. s.p. 1588.

Guildford, m. Lady Jane Grey, beheaded 1553.

Katherine, m. Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, d. s.p.

Mary

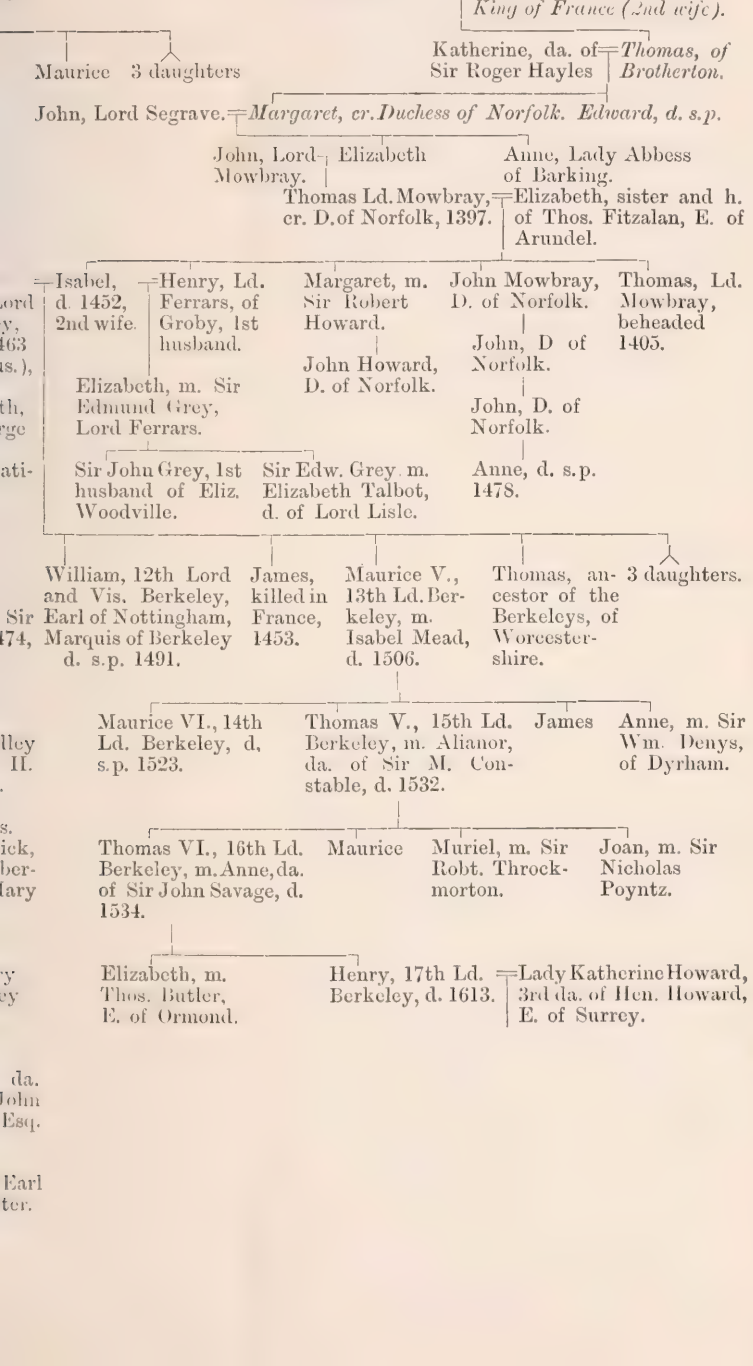
Sir Philip, d. s.p. 1586.

Robert, cr. Ld. Sidney Vis. Lisle, and E. of Leicester. = Bar and Gar

Sir Wm. Sidney, d. s.p. 1612.

Ro of

ter in Gloucestershire History."



THE GREAT BERKELEY LAW-SUIT OF THE 15th AND 16th CENTURIES. A CHAPTER OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE HISTORY.

By JAMES HERBERT COOKE, F.S.A.

Read at Gloucester, 5th February, 1879.

The history of the family disputes for the possession of the Castle and Barony of Berkeley, which arose early in the 15th century, culminated in the battle of Nibley Green, in 1469, and were not finally settled until 1609, presents a curious picture of the state of the country during those times, and is alike interesting to the historian, the genealogist, and the local antiquary. It has been called the longest law-suit on record, but the word law-suit conveys to our apprehension a very imperfect idea of the contest. It was, in truth, a state of civil war, a re-production, on a smaller scale, of the great struggle for the crown between the rival houses of York and Lancaster which was devastating the kingdom at the same period. The contending parties were powerful and high-spirited nobles, each almost supreme in his own domains, accustomed to military service, and able, under the conditions of feudal tenure, to bring large bodies of armed retainers into the field. When the few and feeble proceedings in the courts, or before arbitrators, ended, as they generally did, in compromises acceptable to neither party, or in delays exasperating to both, it is not surprising that the litigants often endeavoured to settle their differences by the sword. The quarrel originated in the following circumstances.

Thomas, the 10th Lord Berkeley, died in 1417, leaving by his wife, Margaret, sole daughter and heiress of Gerard Warren, Lord de Lisle, an only child Elizabeth, married to Richard Beauchamp,

Earl of Warwick. All the great inheritance of the de Lisles, including the two ancient baronies of Lisle and Tyes, descended to the Countess of Warwick, but the Castle and Barony[1] of Berkeley devolved, under a fine levied, with the royal license, by Thomas, the 8th Lord, in 1349, upon the male heir, James, Lord Berkeley's nephew, the eldest son of his brother, the Lord of Raglan, who had been brought up at Berkeley Castle as the heir of the family. On the death of Lord Berkeley, the Earl and Countess of Warwick claimed the Berkeley inheritance, as well as that of de Lisle, and thus commenced a contest which was continued by them and their respective descendants for many generations, at an immense expenditure of blood and money, and with almost ruinous consequences to the families on both sides.

Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, the most eminent member of his noble and knightly race, was one of the principal English generals in Henry the fifth's victorious campaign in France; at this time he held the responsible post of Captain of Calais, and was entrusted with the negotiation of the king's marriage with the Princess Katharine of France. He was subsequently made Governor of Normandy, and on the death of the Duke of Bedford, in the following reign, became Regent of the French kingdom. Of great wealth, power, and influence, he was a most formidable antagonist for James, Lord Berkeley, who was now only twenty-three years of age, with few friends, and little to aid him in the contest but an invincible confidence in his cause. At the time of his uncle's death, James was in Dorsetshire, at the house of Sir Humphrey Stafford, whose daughter[2] he had recently

[1] In an Exchequer suit, touching the relief claimed from Maurice Berkeley, an Inquisition by jury was taken at Gloucester, in 37th Edw. III., whereby it was found that the Manors of Berkeley, Ham, Alkington, Hinton, Hurst, Slimbridge, Cam, Wotton, Symondshall, Cowley, Arlingham, and Portbury, are of the Barony of Berkeley, "*et eandem baroniam facient.*"—Smyth's Lives, Vol. II., p. 421.

[2] This lady's name does not appear in the Stafford pedigree, and Smyth does not state it; her marriage portion was six hundred marks, and she died very young and without issue. The agreement for the marriage was dated 25th July, 2nd Henry V., and in it Thomas, Lord Berkeley, declares James to be his nephew and heir male to the inheritance entailed.

married, but the Earl and Countess of Warwick were at Berkeley, and they took advantage of their position to possess themselves of all Lord Berkeley's title deeds and evidences, taking away a great many, and having copies and abstracts made of others. Lord Warwick also obtained from the King a grant of the custody of all the late Lord's castles, manors, and lands, as long as they should be in the king's hands. James, on the other hand, was not slow in asserting his rights; he at once sued for, and procured, the issue of a writ of *diem clausit extremum*, directed to the escheator of the county of Gloucester, one Robert Gilbert, "a sufficient learned man and a sadde," under which a jury of twelve of the most worshipful gentlemen of the county was impanelled and sworn to enquire of what manors and lands the deceased Lord had died seized, by what services held, and who was inheritable thereto. After much opposition on the part of the Earl of Warwick, and several consequent adjournments, the jury found that James Berkeley was his uncle's heir male, and that he should inherit the Castle of Berkeley and the twelve manors which constituted the ancient barony, with the advowsons of Wotton and Slimbridge, and twenty-two marks rent in Frampton-on-Severn, under the entail created by his great grandfather, the Lord Thomas, in 1349, but that all the late Lord's other lands descended to his daughter, Lady Warwick. The Earl and Countess thereupon sued their livery and paid their relief for their manors; the Lord James also did his fealty for his Castle and Barony, and was thereby accepted as the King's Tenant-in-chief, but was not allowed, owing to the Earl's opposition, to sue his livery and pay his relief for the same. The Earl of Warwick continued to hold possession of the Castle and estates, and as the deceased Lord's executors and chief servants adhered to him as the stronger party, James was unable to prevent him from holding the manor courts, and receiving the rents for the first three years.

Lord Berkeley was now in great difficulties, being unable, for want of his ancient evidences, which were in Lord Warwick's hands, to take further steps for obtaining livery of his lands. He, therefore, procured the assistance of the Duke of Gloucester, the

king's brother, by a bribe of one thousand marks, and by his influence obtained license to sue his livery of the Castle and Lordship of Berkeley, and soon afterwards paid his baron's relief of one hundred marks. This transaction with the "Good Duke Humphrey," venal though it was, was of great service to the Lord James, as the tenants of the lands in dispute now recognised him as their lord, by which he obtained their services, and supplies of money, of which he stood greatly in need. He was also about this time knighted, and received his summons to parliament in December, 1421.

The Earl of Warwick's opposition seemed, however, to increase with Lord Berkeley's success; he still held adverse possession of the Castle and some of the lands, until, upon a petition from the Lord James, the King (Henry V.) interposed, and commanded Lord Warwick to give them up. After the king's death the Earl again entered forcibly upon some of the outlying manors; he several times besieged the Castle, and the town of Berkeley was half destroyed in the frequent fights and disturbances which took place. At length, by the mediation of the Bishop of Worcester, the matters in dispute were referred to arbitration, but for a long time, no decision was come to; in 1426, however, an award, by way of compromise, was made, for the lives of the two litigants, by which the manors of Wotton, Coaley, Symondshall, and some others, were allotted to the Earl of Warwick, Lord Berkeley being allowed to retain the others. This arrangement lasted until the Earl of Warwick's death, at Rouen, in 1439.

The quarrel was now revived by the Earl of Warwick's three daughters and co-heiresses, Margaret, Elianor, and Elizabeth, married, respectively, to John, Lord Talbot, Edmund Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, and George Nevill, Lord Latimer. This Lord Talbot was—

> " . . . . . that great Alcides of the field,
> Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewesbury.[1]

with whom all readers of Shakespeare and of English History are familiar; whose very name was such a terror to the French, that the

[1] 1st Part, King Henry VI., act 4, scene 7.

cry "A Talbot, a Talbot," was enough to scare whole troops. The Lady Margaret was his second wife, the Earls of Shrewsbury being descended from his first marriage with Maud, the daughter of Thomas Nevill, Lord Furnival. The co-heiresses brought an immense influence to bear upon the contest with the Lord James, their father's and Lord Talbot's military services rendering them all-powerful with the weak King Henry VI., and especially with Queen Margaret, who ruled and over-ruled all things in that reign. Lord Talbot also exercised considerable local influence in Gloucestershire, as he possessed the manors of Painswick, Whaddon, and Moreton Valence, besides the family influence in those of the Berkeley manors which had been held by the Earl of Warwick for the last thirteen years. When, therefore, the Inquisitions after the death of Lord Warwick were returned into Chancery, they proved to be so strongly in favour of the co-heiresses that the Lord James found himself in danger of being ousted from the whole of his inheritance. Driven by these proceedings to hold his own by the strong hand, he was committed to the Tower, but released, after a few days, upon entering into a bond of one thousand pounds to keep the peace. In 1440, one David Woodburne, being sent to Wotton by Lord Talbot, to serve a subpœna on Lord Berkeley, the latter not only beat the unfortunate messenger, but compelled him to eat the summons, wax, and parchment. Several years' litigation ensued, varied by frequent fights and much bloodshed, and both parties were often bound over to keep the peace; arbitration was resorted to, but the referees met only to adjourn again and again, without agreeing upon any award.

In 1448 an award, based on the former compromise, was made by five arbitrators, sitting at Cirencester, but Lord Berkeley appears to have been no party to it, and he at once garrisoned his Castle, and prepared to resist its execution. Both parties now had recourse to arms, and many were the skirmishes between them, with frequent incursions upon the lands in each other's possession, gathering rents, chiefly in kind, at the point of the sword, from recusant or timid tenants. The Lord James attacked and pillaged

Wotton Manor-house, where Lady Shrewsbury was then residing, in return for which, her son, Lord Lisle, surprised and broke into Berkeley Castle, and seized Lord Berkeley and his four sons, whom he kept prisoners eleven weeks, and compelled to sign various deeds and bonds. During these contests the towns and villages were nearly destroyed, and the whole country so laid waste that extensive districts were left uncultivated.

The ladies on both sides were at this time as actively engaged in the family quarrel as their lords. Isabel Lady Berkeley, James' second wife, was of royal descent, being the daughter of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, whose mother was Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Segrave, and his wife, Margaret, created Duchess of Norfolk, daughter and heiress of Thomas, of Brotherton, younger son of King Edward I. By this lady, through whom an immense inheritance in land afterwards came into the family, her descendants became entitled to quarter the royal arms of England, and were co-heirs to the ancient baronies of Mowbray and Segrave, in addition to their patrimonial honours. "She was," says Smyth, a lady of great virtue, entirely loving her husband and the children she had by him, and in their distresses, the principal stay and follower of their suits and businesses."[1] While the Lord James was beleaguered in his Castle, or at the head of his retainers, carrying the war into the manors which adhered to the enemy, the Lady Isabel was often in London, petitioning the authorities for help and redress, making what interest she could amongst friends and family connexions, or prosecuting their cause in the courts, or before arbitrators. A letter, still preserved, which she wrote to her husband on one of these occasions, gives a lively picture of the troubles in which they were involved, and of the energy with which she helped him to encounter them.

To my right worshipfull and reverend lord and husband bee this lre delivered.

Right worshipfull and reverend lord and husband, I commend me to you with all my whole hart, desyring allwayes to heare of your good wellfare, the which God mayntayne and increase ever to your worship.

[1] MS. Lives of the Lords Berkeley, Vol. II., p. 539.

And it please you to heare how I fare, Sr squall and squall, Thomas Roger and Jacket have asked surety of peace of mee, for their intent was to bring mee into the Tower, But I trust in God to-morrow that I shall goe in bayle unto the next terme, and soe to goe home and then to come agayne, and sur I trust to God and you will not treat with them, but keep your own in the most manlyest wise, yee shall have the land for ones and end, Bee well aware of Venables and Alderley, of Thom Mull and your false counsell, keep well your place. The Earle of Shroesbury lyeth right nye by you and shapeth all the wyles that he can to distrusse you and yours, for hee will not meddle with you openly noe manner of wise, but it bee with great falsedome that hee can bring about to beguile you, or else that hee caused that yee have to few peopull about you, then will hee set on you, for hee saith he will never come to the king againe, till hee have done you an ill turne. Sur your matter speedeth and doth right well, save my daughter[1] costeth great good. At the reverence of God send money or else I must lay my horse to pledge and come home on my feet, keep well all about you till I come home, and trete not without mee, and then all things shall be well with the grace of the Almighty God, who have you in his keeping. Written at London, the Wednesday next after Whit-Sunday.

Your wife, the Lady of Berkeley.

The Lord James thereupon borrowed twenty-two marks of Nicholas Poyntz, but to such straits had he been reduced that he was obliged to deposit his gilt mass-book, silver chalice, altar-cloths, and vestments, from his private chapel, as a security for the loan.

The Earl of Shrewsbury was at this time in command of the English forces in France, where he was endeavouring, with the desperate valour for which he was so remarkable, to stem the tide of ill-fortune, which, since the time of the Maid of Orleans, had set in strongly against the English arms. The conduct of the Shrewsbury claims on the Berkeley Manors devolved, therefore, on the countess, and the family interests certainly did not suffer in her hands. Energetic, determined, and strongly animated by her personal interest in their cause, Lady Shrewsbury was cruel, remorseless, and unscrupulous in her prosecution of it;[2] she was, in fact, rather more than a match for the Lord James, who had little beyond an indomitable courage and tenacity to aid him in

[1] Elizabeth, her daughter by her first husband, Henry Ferrars, Lord of Groby, afterwards married to Sir Edward Grey.

[2] Smyth calls her "as angry a lady as I have observed in all my readings," but it must be admitted that she had great provocation.

the contest, and, in 1452, fortune enabled her to deal him what was for the time an almost deadly blow. A court was held at Gloucester, at which an inquiry into some complaints which had arisen out of the quarrel was set on foot by Lady Shrewsbury. Isabel, Lady Berkeley, attending as usual to support her husband's cause was, by some means, taken at a disadvantage, and at Lady Shrewsbury's instance, committed to prison in Gloucester Castle, where, her proud spirit sinking under the indignity and anxiety, she died in a few days. She was buried in the chancel of the Grey Friar's Church, in Gloucester, which her grandson, Maurice, 14th Lord Berkeley, afterwards repaired in honour of her memory.

The year following, Lord Shrewsbury and his son, Lord Lisle, were killed at the siege of Castellon, near Bourdeaux, where James, Lord Berkeley's second son, was also slain, and Thomas, his fourth son, was taken prisoner, both serving in the English army. In the presence of these calamities, on both sides, the family quarrels seem to have died away, as little more is recorded of them during Lord James's life. What, probably, contributed to the truce was the politic marriage, which James, forgetful of his devoted wife, the Lady Isabel, and her sad fate, contracted, at the age of 63, with Joan Talbot, the daughter, by his first wife, of the Earl of Shrewsbury, his former enemy. Six years afterwards he died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, William.

William, now 12th Lord Berkeley, was at this time 37 years of age; cautious and crafty, but self-willed, haughty, and implacable; he was so much feared by all around him, that for several years before his father's death no tenant on the estates would accept a lease without William's joining in it. The family quarrel was at once renewed with all its former bitterness between him and the old Countess of Shrewsbury, "two merciless natures not unevenly encountering," as Smyth remarks in his life of the Lord William. Lord Berkeley, in his petition to the King (Edward IV.), accuses the countess of unjustly keeping possession of his manors of Wotton, Symondshall, Coaley, and some others; of plotting with and corrupting his servants in order to get possession of Berkeley Castle, and of compassing his death by means of a hired

assassin. In her reply, Lady Shrewsbury denies some of these charges, especially that of the intended murder, but boldly avows her claim to the Castle and Manors of Berkeley, justifies her attempts to gain possession of them, and prays that justice may be done her; many pleas, counterpleas, bills, and replies followed, and in these proceedings, varied by predatory incursions upon each other's manors, and frequent fights between their servants and tenants, five years passed away without any decision being pronounced.

In 1467 Lady Shrewsbury died, leaving all her property, including the disputed manors and claims, to her grandson, Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, then 20 years of age, and recently married to Margaret, the daughter of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Lord Lisle took up the quarrel with all the energy and impatience of youth, and also with much of the subtlety and craft for which his predecessors had been so conspicuous. A ready instrument was found in Thomas Holt, Lord Berkeley's keeper of Berkeley Castle and Whitcliff Park, and by this traitor's help, Maurice King, the porter of the castle, was gained over, by the promise of a lucrative office in Lord Lisle's service, to deliver up the Castle to Lord Lisle. Smyth gives copies of the letters which passed between Holt and King, and Robert Veale, Lord Lisle's chief agent, relative to this plot (the originals of which were at the castle in his time), but King, at the last moment, disclosed the whole scheme to Lord Berkeley, and thus saved his master. Holt fled to Wotton, to Lord Lisle, and the latter was so enraged and disappointed at the failure of the plot, that he wrote the fatal letter and challenge to Lord Berkeley, which led to the fight at Nibley Green, and his own death. The challenge, which ran as follows, was dated and delivered on the 19th March, 1469.

William called lord Berkeley, I marveill ye come not forth with all your carts of gunnes, bowes, with oder ordinance, that ye set forward to come to my manor of Wotton to bete it down upon my head, I let you wit ye shall not nede to come so nye, for I trust to God to mete you near home with English men of my one nationand neighbors, whereas ye, by subtle craft, have blowin about, in divers places of England, that I should intend

to bring in Welshmen for to destroy and hurt my one nation and cuntry; I lete thee wit I was never soe disposed, nere never will be, and to the proof hereof, I require thee of Knighthood and of manhood to appoynt a day to mete me half-way, there to try, between God and our two hands, all our quarrell and title of right, for to eschew the shedding of christian menns bloud, or els at the same day bringe the uttermost of thy power, and I shall mete thee; an answer of this, by writing as ye will abide by, according to the honor and order of Knighthood.

THOMAS TALBOT, THE VISCOUNT LISLE.

Lord Berkeley returned the following answer the same day:

Thomas Talbot, otherwise called viscount Lisle, not longe continued in that name, but a new found thing brought out of strange countryes,[1] I marveill greatly of thy strange and lewd writinge, made, I suppose, by thy false untrue counsell that thou hast with thee, Hugh Mull and Holt; as for Hugh Mull it is not unknown to all the worshipfull men of this Relme, how he is attaynt of falseness and rasynge of the King's records, and as for the false mischevous Holt, what his rule hath be to the destruction of the King's lege pepull in my lordship of Berkeley, as well to the hurt of their bodyes as the losse of their goods, against goddys lawe, consciens, and all reason, it is openly known, soe that every worshipfull man should refuse to have them in their fellowship, and also of his own free will, undesyred of mee, before worshippfull and sufficient witness, was sworn on a masse-book That he never should bee against mee in noe matter that I had adoe, and espetially in that untrue title that ye clayme which ye holde my lyvelode with wrong; and where thou requirest mee of Knighthood That I should appoynt a day and mete thee in the myd way between my manor of Wotton and my Castle of Berkeley, there to try, betwixt god and our two hands all our quarrell and title of right, for to eschew the shedding of Christen mens bloud, or els, the same day, to bring the uttermost of my power and thou would meet me; as for the determining betwixt our two hands of thy untrue claim and my title and right of my land and inheritance, thou wottest right well there is no such determinacon of land in this Relme used, and I ascertayne thee That my livelode, as well my manor of Wotton, as my Castle of Berkeley be entayled to mee by fine of record in the King's court, by the advice of all the judges of this land in that dayes being, and if it were soe That this matter might be determined by thy hands and myne, the King, our soveraigne lord and his laws not offended, thou shouldst not as soone desire, but I would as soone answere thee in every poynt that belonges to a Knight, for thou art, God I take to record, in a false quarrell, and I, in a true defence and title; and where thou desirest and requirest mee of Knighthood and of manhood to appoynt a day, and that I should be there with all the power that I could make, and that thou would mete me half-way, I will thou understand I will not bring the tenth part that I can make, and I will appoint a short day to ease thy malitious

1 The title of Viscount had but lately been introduced into England, the first creation being that of John, Lord Beaumont, in 1440.

hart and thy false counsell that is with thee ; faile not to-morrow to be at Niblyes green at eight or nyne of the clock, and I will not faile, with God's might and grace, to mete thee at the same place, the which standeth in the borders of the livelode that thou keepest untruly from me, redy to answer thee in all things, That I trust to god it shall be shewed on thee and thine to thy great shame snd disworshipp ; and remember thyself and thy false counsell have refused to abide the rule of the grete lordis of this land, which, by my will, should have determyned this matter by thy evidences and myne ; and, therefore, I vouch god to record, and all the company of heaven, That this fact and the schedding of christen men's bloud, which shall be atwixt us two and our fellowshipps, if any hap to bee, doth grow of thy quaryl, and not of mee, but in my defence and in eschewing of reproche, and onely through thy malitious and mischevouse purpose and of thy false counsell, and of thy own simple discretion, and keep the day, and the trouth shall be shewed by the mercy of god.

William, Lord of Berkeley.

Lord Berkeley was at this time keeping a garrison at Berkeley Castle, but there must have been much riding to and fro of messengers on that day in order to collect the army, which shewed itself at sunrise the next morning at Nibley Green, and which is stated to have been not less than one thousand strong. Lord Berkeley's brother, Maurice, "stole from his young wife and tender son (the hope, at that time, of both their posterities), and met him with a fair band of men sodainly raised from Thornbury, where he then dwelt."[1] A strong party of miners from the Forest of Dean joined the Berkeley banner, and it was said that two rich Bristol merchants, Philip Mead, whose daughter Maurice Berkeley had married, and John Shipward, led a band of citizens to take part in the affray. Lord Berkeley's army lay that night in the outskirts of Michaelwood, adjoining Nibley Green, and the country people near carried them provisions. At sunrise, the next morning, Lord Lisle's party, headed by their fiery young leader, was seen moving down the hill from Nibley Church on the open green, which then extended nearly as far as where Bush street farm-house now stands, and where it joined Michaelwood. The place of stand, Smyth says, was at Fowleshard, from whence the Berkeley men discharged the first flight of arrows upon their opponents ; this name is now unknown, but a field, a few hundred yards north of

[1] Smyth's MS. Lives of the Berkeleys, vol. II., 615.

Bush street farm, was formerly called Fowle's Grove,[1] now corrupted into Foley's Grove, and a rough forest road, which ran through Michaelwood from the direction of Berkeley, extended to this place and crossed Nibley Green towards the church. It appears, therefore, that the Berkeley men remained in the wood here, probably to conceal their superior numbers, until the near approach of their opponents, when they suddenly issued and discharged their arrows, doubtless, with terrible effect. The fight was very bloody, though of short duration, Lord Berkeley's party being much the stronger. Lord Lisle was shot with an arrow on the left side of his face, his vizor being up, by a Dean Forester called Black Will, and finished by the stroke of a dagger; his fall completed the rout of his party, and the steep lane leading from the green to Nibley church was soon thronged by the fugitives and their pursuers. Lord Berkeley led on his victorious followers to Wotton Manor-house, which they sacked and pillaged. Lady Lisle gave premature birth to a dead son sixteen days afterwards, and by this event the male line of the younger branch of the Talbot family became extinct; a terrible and complete retribution, by which the death of Lord Berkeley's mother at Gloucester Castle, at the instance of the Countess of Shrewsbury, was fearfully avenged on the descendants of the latter.

The kingdom was, at this period, in a very disturbed state, which, probably, accounts for such a serious breach of the peace passing unnoticed at the time by the authorities. An insurrection had broken out in Yorkshire; the Lancastrian party was suspected of an intention to raise their banner, and the powerful Earl of Warwick, Richard Neville the "King maker," to whom Edward IV. owed his crown, was withdrawing his support. Seven days after the battle Lord Berkeley received the King's commission to

[1] Thomas Lord Berkeley, the second of that name (sixth Lord, A.D., 1281 to 1321), by deed without date, granted to Richard de Wike and his heirs "unum clausum in bosco suo de Muklewood, de quodam assarto quod Willus Fowell quondam tenuit, quod continet sex acras et sexaginta perticatas terræ et bosci, quod jacet inter clausum puellæ de Haggely et viam quæ ducit per medium de Muklewood versus Eccliam de Nubbeley;" to him and his heirs, by Knight's service and the yearly rent of three shillings.—*Smyth's MS. description of the "Hundred of Berkeley."*

search out and apprehend disaffected persons within the county. A few months afterwards the king himself was a fugitive, and Warwick, who for his own purposes now espoused the Lancastrian cause, had replaced Henry VI. on the throne. The Battle of Barnet, however, on Easter-day, 1471, once more reversed the state of things; Warwick was slain and King Edward resumed the sceptre. Lady Lisle now brought her appeal against Lord Berkeley, his brother Maurice, and others, for the death of her husband, but the delays which the Berkeleys found means to interpose prevented the case from being decided for two years. At length, a parliamentary enactment[1] was procured, whereby it was settled that Lord Berkeley should have all the manors in dispute, paying Lady Lisle £100 a year in settlement of her personal claims, but without prejudice to the rights of their respective heirs. Shortly afterwards she married Henry Bodrugan, a Cornish gentlemen,[2] a circumstance which, together with her having compounded the death of her first husband for an annuity, goes far to deprive her of the sympathy and interest with which her early misfortunes tended to invest her.

Having thus slain his enemy and bought up the life claims of the widow, the Lord William now took possession of the disputed manors, but before he had been three years in possession of them, he was attacked by Sir Edward Grey, the husband of Elizabeth, the late Lord Lisle's sister, who set up a claim to the reversion, in her own right. The Greys were near of kin to Lord Berkeley, Sir Edward and his brother, Sir John Grey (the first husband of Elizabeth Woodville), being the grandsons of his mother the Lady Isabel, by her first marriage to Henry, Lord Ferrars, of Groby. After several years' sharp contention this claim was settled, as in the former cases, by a compromise, Lord Berkeley keeping the lands, and agreeing to pay an annuity to his opponents. This truce was, however, broken in a few months, but by what means does not appear; and as Lord Berkeley was soon afterwards summoned before the King's council, and bound, under a heavy

[1] Rot. Parl., 12th Edward IV., m. 26.

[2] She was the second wife of Sir Henry Bodrugan, and died before him, s.p. See Ped. of Bodrugan, Sir John Maclean's "History of Trigg Minor," Vol. I., p. 555.

recognizance, to keep the peace towards Sir Edward Grey, it does not seem that the bloody result of his former turbulence had afflicted him with any feelings of remorse, or disposed him to more peaceable conduct. Increasing craft or caution, however, now began to teach him the use of different weapons for the advancement of his purposes. It is said that "Great gifts are little gods," and he, about this time, succeeded, by judicious bribery, in detaching several influential personages from his rival's interest, and securing them to his own. Encouraged by these results he next proceeded, by similar means, to enlist the favour and assistance of the King himself. Being entitled, in right of his mother, the Lady Isabel, to a moiety of the vast estates of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, lately deceased, failing the Duke's daughter and sole heiress, a child six years old, Lord Berkeley, in 1477, conveyed his reversion therein to the youthful Duke of York, the King's second son. In return the King created him a viscount, and, which was, probably, of much more service to him, covenanted to discharge him from certain great bonds and obligations amounting to £34,000,[1] in which he stood bound to John, late Earl of Shrewbury, and his heirs. The poor little heiress was married to the Duke of York in January, 1478, but died the next day, and her young husband inherited her vast patrimony. In 1483 died King Edward IV., and a few months afterwards the Duke of York and his elder brother, King Edward V., were murdered in the Tower by the contrivance of their uncle the Duke of Gloucester; by these events the moiety of the Norfolk estates devolved at once upon Lord Berkeley, and the Duke of Gloucester became King, as Richard III.

A perfect mania, for the purchase of honours and distinctions by the sacrifice of his lands, seems to have seized upon the Lord William, now Viscount Berkeley. In 1484 he conveyed to the King 35 manors, part of the Norfolk inheritance, by deed of gift, and was, thereupon, created Earl of Nottingham. At the Battle of Bosworth field, the next year, where it was said that the new earl

[1] These bonds were those signed under duresse by James Lord Berkeley's father, when he and his sons were prisoners in the hands of Lord Lisle, as stated ante p. 310. To carry this arrangement with the King into effect, an act of Parliament was passed in 22nd Edw. IV.

assisted the one party with men and the other with money (though he was too astute to take part with either in person), King Richard was slain, and leaving no heir, the 35 manors again reverted to Lord Berkeley, as though Providence were determined to frustrate his attempts to impoverish himself and ruin his family. By King Henry VII. he was created Earl Marishall and Great Marischall of England, and by a deed of the same date he gave two castles and 28 manors to Sir William Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain. Several other gifts and grants of lands followed in return for court favour and patronage. Finally, having quarrelled with his brother and heir, who, naturally, remonstrated against these repeated alienations of the family possessions, he entailed Berkeley Castle and the whole of the remaining family estates upon the King (Henry VII.), reserving only a life interest to himself, besides his wife's dower, and was in return created Marquis of Berkeley. Thus did William Lord Berkeley wilfully strip his family of the castle and princely domains which had been held by their ancestors for ten successive generations, destroying, as far as in him lay, their very name and lineage, and accomplishing, by a stroke of the pen, what all the efforts of powerful enemies, through more than seventy years, had been unable to effect. He died in 1491, when the King took possession of the whole, and spent 10 days at Berkeley, in that year, with his Queen, Elizabeth of York.

Amidst these events we hear nothing of the great law-suit, except that in 1488 Sir Edward Grey, who had been created Lord Lisle, procured, in spite of Lord Berkeley's strenuous opposition, an exemplification under the Great Seal of some irregular proceedings in the case, which had taken place before Judge Bingham, at Cirencester, 37 years before; this was done, probably, to perpetuate the evidence then given. During the possession of the Berkeley estates by the crown, which lasted until the death of Edward VI., 61 years later, the claims of the heirs general appear to have lain dormant.

Maurice, the Marquis's brother and rightful heir, resided chiefly at Thornbury, where, of his own and his wife's, he had a fair estate. He succeeded, through looking into some old titles and entails, in

recovering from the crown several of the manors formerly possessed by his ancestors, and he also inherited the borough and manor of Tetbury, and much other property, as one of the heirs of Lord Braose. The position he acquired and held in the county may be inferred from the fact that his son and successor, Maurice, the 14th Lord, was one of the principal leaders in the English army under the Marquis of Dorset, which invaded France in 1512, when Maurice took with him 411 men of his own tenants and servants, all well armed and trained.

In 1553, by the death of King Edward VI., without issue, the Castle and Lordship of Berkeley again returned to the family of its original possessors, then represented by Henry, 17th Lord Berkeley, the great-grandson of Maurice, the Marquis's brother. Some difficulties having arisen in consequence of the Lord Henry being under age, and therefore a ward of the crown, Queen Mary, as a special grace and favour to Lord Berkeley's mother, who was, and continued through her life to be, a staunch Roman Catholic, caused a special livery of his lands to be issued to him under the great seal, by which he gained two whole years rents and profits. The Queen, it is said, desired to have made him an entirely new grant, by "dedi et concessi," which course was also strongly pressed by his lordship's counsel, but as strongly rejected by Lady Berkeley, who desired to inherit under the old title as revived by the death of Edward VI. This course was followed, and subsequently led to great mischief, as will be seen.

By the failure of male heirs to the Greys, the Lisle claims had now devolved upon Lord Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who was the son of Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Edward Grey, Lord Lisle, and who was beheaded in the first year of Queen Mary, for high treason in the attempt to place his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane Grey,[1] upon the throne. By his attainder, the rights of the heirs general became vested in the crown, and thus a far more formidable competitor than any the Berkeleys had yet encountered

[1] She was descended from Sir John Grey, the elder brother of Sir Edward, and his wife Elizabeth Woodville (afterwards Queen of Edward IV.), whose son was created Marquis of Dorset.

was brought into the field. No claim on behalf of the crown was made for several years, and the Lord Henry was allowed to take possession of his castle and estates without question. In 1558, however, a suit in the exchequer was instituted, in the name of the Queen, against Lord Berkeley, for "intrusion" upon the manors of Wotton, Symondshall, Arlingham, and some others, to which he pleaded, but no further steps were then taken, Queen Mary dying soon afterwards. The next year the suit was again commenced in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and was prosecuted by Sir Thomas Parry, treasurer of the Queen's household and a privy counsellor, but a lease of Symondshall farm for 60 years, at a low rent, being granted to him by Lord Berkeley, the suit was again allowed to sleep.

In 1572 Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, brother to Katherine, Lady Berkeley, was condemned and executed for high treason, one of his principal enemies being Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the second son of the Duke of Northumberland already mentioned. Overtures had also been made a short time previous for the marriage of Lord Berkeley's two daughters (he then having no son) to the two nephews of the Earl of Leicester, the gallant and accomplished Sir Philip Sidney, and his brother Robert, afterwards Lord Lisle. These propcsals had been declined by Lady Berkeley, at which great umbrage was taken by the Dudley family. The suit by the crown was, therefore, revived, and was strongly pressed and supported by the Earl of Leicester, who now stood very high in favour with the Queen, from whom he had obtained a written promise of a grant of the lands in question, if they were recovered. In 1573 the case came to trial and resulted in a verdict against Lord Berkeley for the Manors of Symondshall and Wotton, including the entire parishes of Wotton-under-Edge and Nibley, with mesne profits since the first year of Queen Mary, amounting to more than £5,000. In estimating these sums the difference in the value of money at this period must be borne in mind, which was, at least, twelve times as much as it is now. The Queen took possession of those manors and immediately granted them to the Earl of Leicester, and his brother

Ambrose, Earl of Warwick. The Earl of Leicester, who in actual life was not, by any means, the magnificent creature which he appears in Scott's matchless romance, came to Wotton soon afterwards to take possession of his new acquisitions; accompanied by a large concourse of people he went to Michaelwood Lodge, broke down a large part of the park palings there, and then returned to Wotton Hill, where they played a match at Stoball, a game greatly in vogue on the Cotswolds at that time, but now obsolete. The Earl and his followers afterwards went to Slimbridge, and endeavoured to take forcible possession of Rolls Court, but Arnold Ligon, a "stout gentleman," who then held that estate by lease from Lord Berkeley, defended his house with so much spirit that they were obliged to retire.

In 1580 another suit was commenced by the crown against Lord Berkeley for the manors of Sages and Arlingham, the third part of the manors of Cam, Hinton, and Slimbridge, and sundry other farms and lands; it ended, like the former action, in a verdict for the crown, and these lands were likewise granted to the Earls of Warwick and Leicester. The Earl of Leicester died in 1588, and his brother of Warwick inherited all these manors by survivorship, but, dying himself two years afterwards, left all his possessions to his Countess, Anne, daughter of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford. Lord Berkeley was much impoverished by the expenses of this long continued litigation, the loss of nearly half of his estate, and the large sums demanded as mesne profits, from the first year of Queen Mary. He petitioned repeatedly for a remission of the mesne profits, and, on one occasion, Lady Berkeley presented, on her knees, a petition to the Queen, who replied "No, no, my Lady Berkeley, we know you will never love us for the death of your brother;" referring to the execution of the Duke of Norfolk for high treason not long before. To meet these great payments he sold much of his outlying property, consisting of manors in the counties of Wilts, Warwick and Leicester, the remains of the great Norfolk inheritance not dissipated by the Marquis, and raised £37,000 between the years 1565 and 1602.

In 1603 Lady Warwick died, leaving Sir Robert Sidney, her husband's nephew, her heir, and Queen Elizabeth also died soon afterwards. Various suits were still going on between the parties, with varying success, but early in the reign of King James a disposition to come to terms with each other and cease further litigation began to appear. At length direct overtures were made by Sir Robert Sidney, now Lord Lisle, through the medium of Lord Berkeley's son Thomas, who had recently married the daughter of Sir George Carey, Lord Hunsdon, and, on the 31st October, 1609, articles were agreed upon for the final settlement of all the matters which had so long been in dispute between them. The conditions were, briefly, that all manors, lands, liberties, and hereditaments of Lord Lisle at any former time belonging to Lord Berkeley, or his ancestors, should return to the possession of the latter, saving all leases, rents, and annuities which had been granted in writing by the Earls of Leicester and Warwick, or by Anne, the late Countess of Warwick, Lord Berkeley paying to Lord Lisle £7,320 in discharge of all other claims. Towards raising this large sum Lord Berkeley had a benevolence from all his tenants, holding by lease or copy of court roll, and also *aid pour faire fitz Chevaler*, under the statutes 3rd Edw I., and 25th Edw. III., from all his freeholders, whether holding by Knight's service or in socage. By these almost obsolete feudal services he obtained £700, which, Smyth says, was very willingly paid. £3,000 were also realized by the sale of timber and firewood in Michaelwood, where iron-smelting was then carried on with ore brought from the Forest of Dean.

Thus ended this most extraordinary struggle, which is, I believe, unparallelled in this or any other country. For one hundred and ninety-two years the Berkeleys had borne, with varied fortune, the continual assaults of some of the most powerful families in the kingdom, the Beauchamps, the Talbots, the Greys, the Dudleys, and the Sidneys, and lastly, of the Crown itself. After many viscissitudes, the close of the contest found the direct heir male, the seventeenth Baron by descent, more firmly than ever established in the possession of his ancestral castle and

ancient barony. The greatest foe to the family was he of their own household, William, Marquis of Berkeley, whose criminal folly stripped them of their ancient patrimony for four generations, and would have obliterated their very race and name had it not been providentially over-ruled. The great law-suit was, however, by no means unproductive of good to the Berkeley family. In the early part of it their own troubles withheld them from taking any part in the Wars of the Roses, and they were, consequently, one of the very few great families which did not suffer in life, or in estate, in those contests. Even the interval of sixty-one years, in which the castle and estates were held by the crown, had its compensations; it put an end, for the time, to the attacks of their enemies, and gave them a breathing time, and an opportunity to recover strength for the struggle which was to follow. The suits, by the crown, in the reign of Elizabeth were more serious, as the enormous expenses and losses which they occassioned compelled Henry Lord Berkeley to sacrifice domains as great as all that still remain to the family.

One relic of the Great Law-suit is still in existence; an annuity of £30, payable to the hospital or almshouse at Chenies in Buckinghamshire, which was left by Anne, Countess of Warwick, charged upon the Manor of Wotton, and is still paid. In respect of this annuity, Wotton-under-Edge possesses the right to nominate a pensioner to the hospital.

ST. BRIAVEL'S CASTLE.

By the REV. W. TAPRELL ALLEN,

Vicar of St. Briavel's.

Read at Gloucester, 5th February, 1879.

At the time this Castle was built by Milo of Gloucester[1], the town, or "vill,"[2] was known as "Ledeneia Parva," or "Little Lydney," and it is so described in a charter of the Bishop of Worcester, of about A.D. 1164. The earliest mention of the name of S. Briavel's, in the public records, occurs in the Pipe Roll of 31st Henry I., where it was discovered by the late Mr. Ormerod, which is cited to the effect that certain expenses accruing from the services of one knight, sergeant, porter, and watch at the "Castellum de Sco Briavel," were rendered by "Milo de Gloucestria."[3]

I venture to give the following reason why the Castle was called that of St. Briavel:—In the hamlet of Stowe, otherwise St. Briavel-stowe, about a mile northward from the present castle, is an ancient entrenchment, locally known as "The Castle," or St. Briavel's Castle, and considered by the late Mr. Wakeman[4] to have been the residence or "bod" of that prince of Gwent, whose hermitage stood near at hand, at the back of the present Stowe Grange. This entrenchment stands a few yards from the high road leading from Mork to the Forest, and there may have been some sort of fortress there at the time of the Conquest. The hermitage, castle, and lands were at an early date in possession of the crown. It is not improbable that Milo Fitz-walter, when he built his castle in a more commanding situation, transferred the name of "S. Briavel" to his new work.

[1] See Appendix B. [2] St. Briavels was a "Villa Regia"

[3] Nicholls' Personalities of the Forest of Dean. p. 8.

If Nicholls has quoted this passage correctly, Ormerod is inaccurate. Milo de Gloucester was Sheriff in this year and claimed an allowance in his account of the expenses referred to. The entry in the Roll is: et in lib'at' Militis et Servientium et Janitoris et Vigil' Castelli de S'c'o Briauel xiiij. li. et vs. et vij. d. ob'l' nu'o. It is thus a payment by tale, for which the Sheriff would receive an allowance. [4] Antiquarian Researches.

Within forty years of the building of the Castle, namely in 1166, the town became that of "St. Briavel," instead of "Lydney Parva," the occasion being the re-consecration of the church, after enlargement, upon the settlement of an old dispute, respecting the tithes, between the Abbey of Lire, and the Monks of Saumur, in Anjou.

The Castle of St. Briavel stands nearly on the summit of a hill, which rises gradually from the Valley of the Wye to the height of about 800 feet. To the north the ground falls slightly for some distance, and then descends rather abruptly towards the hamlet of Mork and to the Slad Valley, whence it again rises towards Wiggat and Stowe. On the east it is rather undulating, while on the south it rises rapidly, so that within a short distance it is level with the roofs of the Castle towers. On all sides, except on the south, the castle commands extensive views, stretching, on the west and north-west, over the Trelleck Beacon and the adjoining heights, as far as the Sugar Loaf and Skirrid Mountains, near Abergavenny, and including in the prospect the hills bounding Herefordshire, such as the Graig, Saddlebow, and others. On the north are the Kymin, the Buckstone and Staunton Hills, Berry Hill, Ruardean and the Plump Hill, and the more distant May Hill in Longhope. On the north-east stretches the Forest of Dean, and, in clear weather, the view reaches beyond the Severn to the hills in the neighbourhood of Dursley. The position of the Castle was, therefore, well chosen for the age in which it was erected, although on the south side, it is so commanded by the rising ground, as to be untenable against the appliances of modern warfare.

According to the "Annals" of Giraldus, the Castle was built by Milo with the view of confirming the royal authority, and of checking the inroads of the Welsh. The date of its erection is generally fixed at about A.D. 1131. Milo, who espoused the cause of the Empress Maud, was by her created Earl of Hereford, of which honour he was deprived by Stephen.

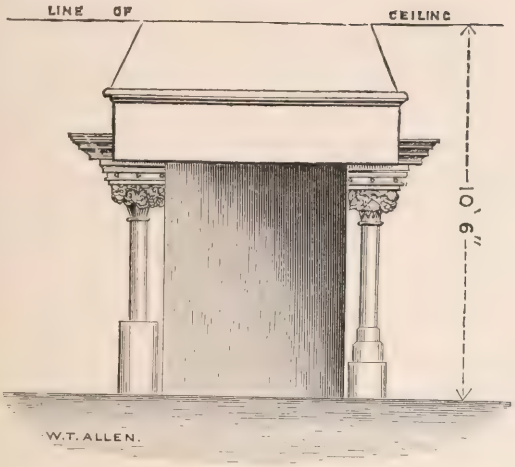
In speaking of this Castle, Camden, when describing the death of Mahel, the youngest son of Milo Fitz-walter, fell into the error

of confounding it with that of Bronllys, in Breconshire, an error pointed out by several later writers, yet frequently revived. And Nicholls,[1] while acknowledging the error of Camden, has himself fallen into the mistake of supposing the Castle of Bronllys to be that at Clifford, near Hay, in Herefordshire.

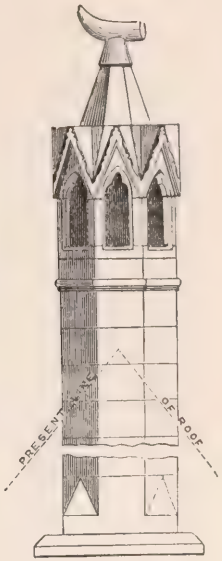
St. Briavel's Castle appears to stand on a circular artificial mound. Whether it took the place of an earlier erection, or of a British camp, there are no means of deciding. The most ancient building was a Norman Keep about 100 feet high, which stood towards the south of the present enclosure. Britton[2] says that this Keep was flanked by two square towers. Of these towers I find no evidence in the existing remains, but I think it highly probable that an entrance gateway, flanked by towers, or with one tower above, stood near the present entrance. There was a large room on the north eastern side, but this has entirely disappeared. On the western side are the remains of a spacious room, evidently a state apartment. This room communicated through an ante-chamber with the chapel. There is another room to the south of the room above mentioned, which in later days became the jury-room, and the chapel and ante-room were formed into the court-room. Beneath the first mentioned room was a large cellar, used in recent times as the Crown Manor Pound. To this cellar access was gained through a pointed arch at the south-east angle. Under the jury-room and chapel is a large stable (in which is a narrow pointed doorway leading to the moat) and other offices. These stand on either side of a passage which once led from the chapel court towards the Keep. There are marks of other buildings having stood on the south side of the chapel. A pointed window at the east end of the Jury-room has been closed, and above it are corbels belonging to an older roof of different construction from the present one. These corbels may have carried a parapet. Respecting the buildings which I have mentioned, a few details may be given. The state apartment, first mentioned, which is about 40 ft. by 20 ft., had an Early English pointed window of two lights and a large transomed window of Perpen-

[1] Forest of Dean, p. 9. [2] Beauties of England and Wales.

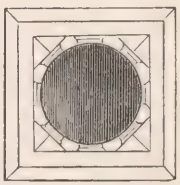
dicular date, on the west side, overlooking the Wye valley and Monmouthshire hills. On the eastern side was the fireplace, and a two-light Early English window, also a single light square-headed window. In the south-east angle was an arched doorway, leading to the chapel, and in the north wall was a single-light window, with stone seats in the recess. This window has been built against. Externally, on the east side, is a fine buttress, the upper part of which formed the chimney stack. The lower part of this buttress has been cut away to make room for a flight of stone steps, leading to the court room, or former chapel. These steps have been built against the narrow openings, which gave light to the cellar, so that the head stones only appear. The openings were secured by longitudinal iron bars. The steps have also been built against the ancient pointed archway opening to the passage under the chapel. The chapel has an Early English piscina. The roof of the building is comparatively modern, the cross-beams being plainly lower than in the original roof: as a consequence the east window, which was formerly pointed and filled with tracery in the head, has had the upper part closed with masonry. The window appears to have been an Early English one of at least three lights. There are two plain mullioned windows, one on either side, but from marks in the south wall, there have evidently been great alterations. Some of these may have been made in the reign of Elizabeth, when, I imagine, the chapel was converted into the court-room, since formerly, on a beam over the judge's seat, there was a text of scripture and the date MDLXVII. The jury-room measures about 24 ft. by 23 ft., and is 10 ft. high to the ceiling. It is approached from the court-room by a pointed doorway, and contains a 15th century four-light window in the south wall, and a lofty transomed window in the west, on which side is an Early English fireplace *(fig. 34)*. The capitals of the columns which support the projecting chimney, are fairly carved, but the work on the two is unequal and of different design, as may be seen by the accompanying woodcuts *(fig. 36 & 37)*. The shafts which support these capitals are of later insertion on some occasion of repairs. It is a question whether this fireplace is in its original



(Fig. 34.)



ELEVATION.



PLAN

W.T. ALLEN.

(Fig. 35.)

(Fig. 36)

(Fig. 37.)

position. On either side of it are carved brackets, probably for lamps.

The present very elegant Early English chimney *(fig. 35)* which surmounts this fireplace was removed from the eastern side of the castle enclosure between 1783 and 1824. In its former position it stood on a high octagonal shaft. On the apex is a forester's horn, the symbol of the jurisdiction of the constable over the Forest of Dean. Tradition assigns the erection of this chimney to Henry de Bohun. Externally, at the south-east angle of this building, was a double buttress, now destroyed. There was also a buttress at the south-west angle. The jury-room and the state apartment evidently once formed one large room. They were, certainly, once under the same roof, for the corbels on the exterior of the east wall correspond in both rooms, the wall being also continuous. The wall dividing them is very slight and quite modern. It appears from excavations recently made, that the Keep stood to the south of the enclosure. It was square in form and very massive in construction, the walls being at least 8 ft. thick. It fell down in 1752, and was completely destroyed by 1774, so that nothing remains of it above ground, except three large fragments of masonry, which are lying on their sides, probably just as they fell. The rest of the stones seem to have been carted away and used for building purposes, so that, in the words of the writer of "The Coliseum," we may say (with one slight alteration)—

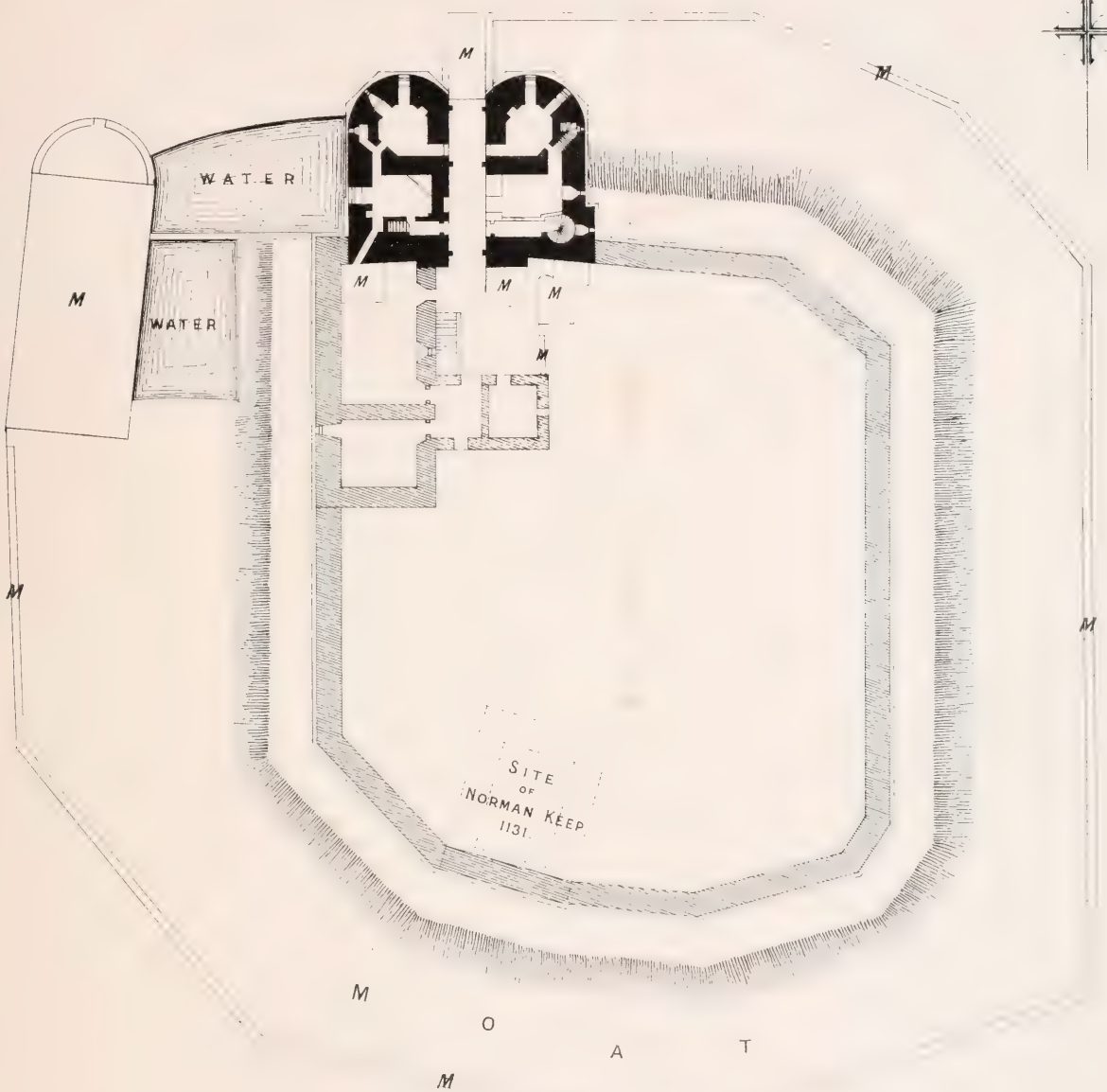
> "Yet nor barbaric sword, nor bigot rage,
> Nor the slow canker of corroding age,
> But thine own Romans marr'd the grand design,
> Hew'd "humbler" fabrics from thy plunder'd mine."
>
> *Oxford Prize Poems.*

What buildings stood to the north of the state apartment cannot be determined. I conclude that the enclosure wall joined that apartment at the north east angle. There are indications of an entrance at the north side, where the easternmost tower now stands. The enclosure wall proceeded eastward, then turned to the south-east and afterwards to the south, and continued in a similar manner on the south, south-west, and west sides. In fact the outer walls

seem to have represented a seven-sided figure or heptagon of unequal sides. They were about 30 ft. high, and at their base is an embankment, beyond which is the moat. This was drained some 15 years ago, the only portion remaining being the castle pool at the north-west. At the north-eastern side of the enclosure wall are the marks of a lean-to-roof, and on the eastern side a large fireplace has been built up. The room which stood here must have been large, as the width is 23 ft. It may have been a sort of common hall for the garrison.

We have now to consider the later additions. These were made in 1275 or 1276 (at which time an extensive fallage of timber was made in the Forest) and are all on the north side. These buildings are of an entirely different style of masonry from the more ancient parts of the castle; the walls being of ashlar work, whereas the older are of rubble masonry. It would seem as if the enclosure wall was taken down where it joined the state-apartment and cellar, so as to give space for the new buildings, which project considerably beyond the ancient enclosure walls. The new buildings consist of two entrance towers, and a gateway with a crenelated curtain above, and in respect to their ground plan they have much in common with the northern towers of Rockingham Castle, which are of the same date. The towers rise from octagonal bases. The superstructure is semi-circular, triangular buttresses being carried up from the angles of the bases. The front walls are 7ft. thick in the basement floor. The eastern tower was roofless in 1752, and in 1783 was very ruinous, the greater part of the south wall having fallen. This tower contained, what seems to have been a dungeon in the basement, and, there were, at least, three floors above; the ground floor being lighted by loops and the upper rooms by narrow windows. A stone staircase led to the upper rooms, and at the foot of this staircase was a narrow doorway, with pointed arch, which communicated with a guard-room. This guard-room had a chamber over it. The window in its east wall has been closed. The entrance to the castle was strengthened by heavy gates, and although the wall above the entrance gate is double, as if to receive a portcullis, yet there are no side grooves, so that the space between

St Briavels Castle, Gloucestershire.



PARTS SHEWN THUS ▭ WERE BUILT A D 1180
Do Do ▭ 1276
Do Do ▭ 1300

PARTS LETTERED *M* ARE MODERN.

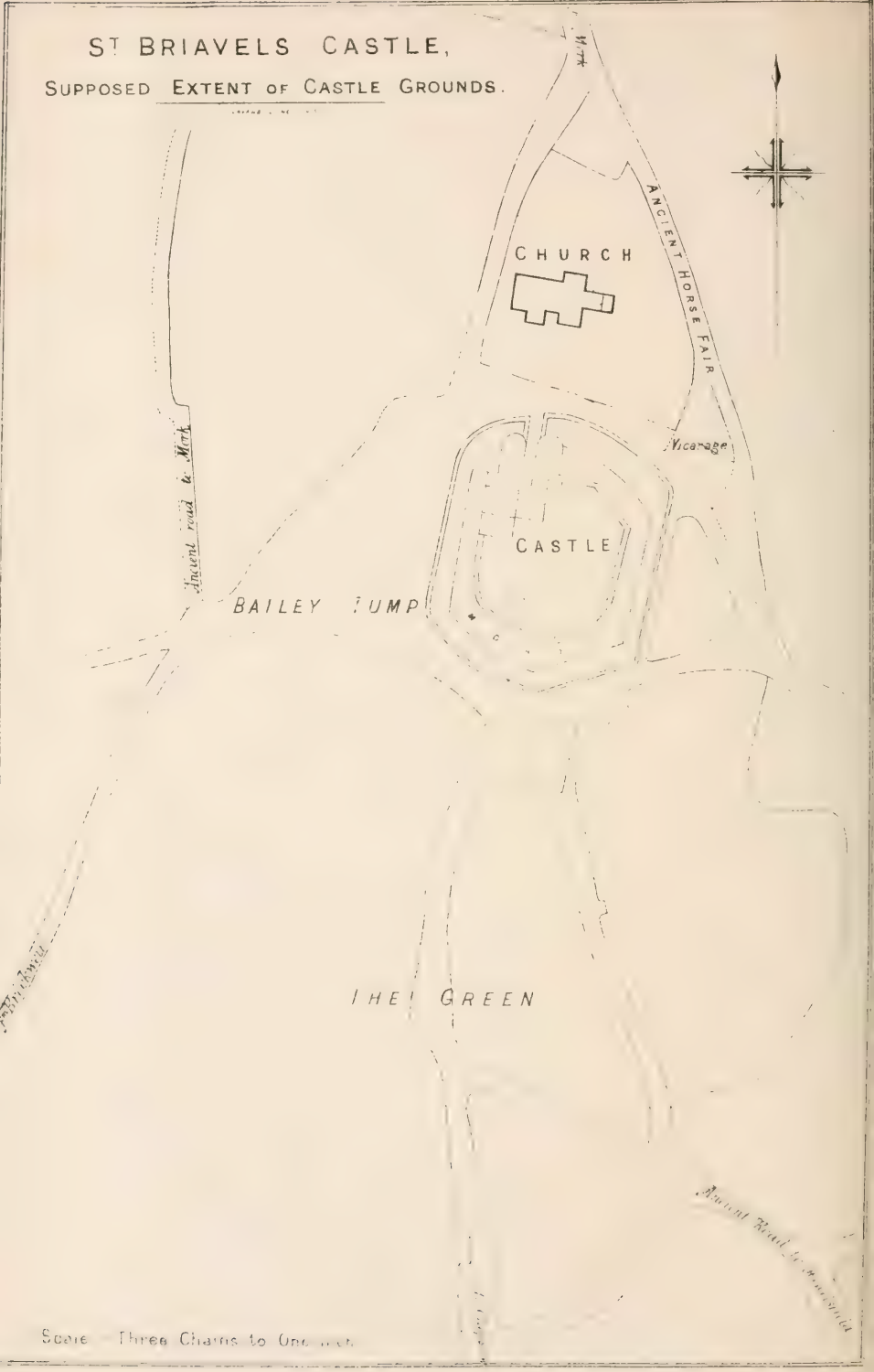
Ground Plan.

Scale of Feet

50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 150 200

St BRIAVELS CASTLE,

Supposed Extent of Castle Grounds.



Scale — Three Chains to One inch.

the double wall may have been used for throwing missiles of all kinds upon any who attempted to force an entrance. Beyond the gates was a small court, with a chamber above. This court measures 15 ft. long by 10 ft. wide, and in front was a second gateway with a portcullis. Judging from the internal structure of the ground floor rooms of the entrance towers, there was a loop on each side of this small court. These loops have since been converted into doorways. The fireplaces in the ground floor rooms of the towers are modern, and were probably added when the rooms were made habitable. Beyond the second gateway is a second court, which measures 21 ft. 6 in. long, by about 9 ft. wide, with two floors over. A third gateway, with a portcullis, separated this court from the chapel court. If an enemy should gain entrance to this second court he would find himself assailed in front, as well as from the two doorways on either side of this court, all of which were protected by portcullises. Molten lead, or boiling water, would be poured upon him from above, and good stout English bowmen would be doing their work well with the quarells[1] for which St. Briavel's was famous. The castle, though small, was strong and not easily penetrated. The first doorway on the right hand in the second court, led into a moderate sized and lofty room, which, in modern times, has been used as a kitchen. The fireplace is of the date of Charles I., and there is a turnspit's wheel *in situ*. The ancient doorway has been closed, and the upper part converted into a small window. There is a cross-loop window, which has taken the place of a loop. This is in the west wall. There is also an arched passage, which communicates with the buildings in the chapel court. A narrow pointed doorway, secured by a very heavy door, leads from this room into the western of the entrance towers. The stone staircase in this tower was removed probably when alterations were made in the reign of Charles II. The ground floor room is similar to that

[1] There was a large manufactory of "quarells," or cross-bow arrows, at St. Briavel's. Henry III., on the 18th November, 1223, sent 6000 of them to Montgomery. Parry's Royal Progresses in Wales. Edit. London, 1851. Gough's Antiq. vol. 2. Art. Gloucester.

in the other tower. A modern window has replaced one of the loops, and the recess of the other has been formed into a cupboard. The floor above was the prison attached to the courts held at the castle. Its narrow windows are strongly secured with iron bars. From one window, which is provided with steps and stone seats in the recess, many a prisoner has, doubtless, looked wistfully over the forest, and sighed for liberty. On either splay of this window inscriptions have been cut or scratched in a rude manner. There may be more than these on the walls of this room, but, if so, they are filled up with colouring matter. I can give only the two following :—

ROBIN · BELCHER · THE · DAY · WILL · COME · THAT · THOU · SHALT · ANSWER · FOR · IT · FOR · THOU · HAST · SWORN · AGAINST · ME · 1671.

MY · GLAS · IS · ROON · TIS · TIME · TWAS · GONE ·
FOR · I · HAVE · LIVED · A · GRET · SPACE ·
AND · I · AM · WEARY · OF · THE · PLACE ·

On the opposite splay : —

WILLIAM · BOVND · WAS · TAKN · 1677.

This prison room measures 16½ft. by 17½ft., and is 13ft. high. It is of irregular shape, having three corners cut off. It has an Early English fireplace, with very good jamb mouldings. A narrow doorway, 2½ft. wide, leads into a small passage, where once was the newel stone-staircase, which gave access from the lower to the upper room. There is a strong outer door, secured with very massive hasps and staples, and having in it a circular opening, with a swing door, through which the prisoners received their rations, and by means of which the warder could inspect his charge. This door was attached at the top by a hinge, and was fastened at the lower part with a hasp and staple. The great philanthropist, John Howard, in his work on the "Lazarettos of Europe," mentions a visit he paid to St. Briavel's Castle. He reports thus :—

St. Briavill's Gaol.

"St. Briavill's Gaol for Debtors. No alterations. (*i.e.* since a previous visit). The keeper sells Beer, and there is company as at a common ale-house. Here were lately released one who was confined near a year ;

debt only 3s., costs £4 11s. 4d.; another near two years, debt 40s., costs £7 15s.; another, debt £1 19s., costs £4 4s. 6d. These cases cannot be known to Lord Berkeley, who never visits the town."

"1718, Jan 31. No prisoners."

On the same floor as the prison is a room which may have been used as a guard-chamber. It has a transomed window, and an Early English fireplace, similar to that in the prison. Above this room and the prison are three attics, which are approached by a modern and rather awkward staircase. Another staircase, partly of wood with a heavy balustrade of mediæval work, and partly of stone, leads from this room downwards, to a door which opens into the second court. The wall which once separated the passage leading to this staircase from the guard-room in the basement, has been taken down, and a thin modern wall has been substituted, with a doorway to give access to the present kitchen. This part of the Castle has undergone much alteration. The masonry above the doorway leading to the staircase just mentioned, appears not of the same character, and a small modern window has been inserted. The wall has been built against a narrow pointed-doorway, which I conceive led through the thickness of the wall, by a secret passage, to some other part of the building. In the room immediately above the second court was an Early English fireplace, of which the jambs remain; also a window, now closed up, which opened into the chapel court. Near this window is a cupboard with a stone shelf. Of the room above this very little remains. In the outer wall of the guard-chamber and of the staircase tower, on the eastern side, are two fine loops, especially the one in the staircase tower. This is approached by steps in the wall, which is 7ft. thick. The castle well, which was in the eastern guard-chamber, has been filled up. The roof of the western tower was of high pitch, and had a sort of dormer in it. The rafters towards the north-west were projected beyond the wall plate, and may either have supported a platform, or have been used for hanging criminals. This roof had undergone some alterations in the reign of Chas. II. What the exact form of the ancient roofs was I cannot determine.[1]

[1] For the Plan of the Castle, see Plate XI.

The Castle appears to have gone to decay at an early date. Probably after the Conquest of Wales it was no longer valuable as a fortress on the Welsh marches. In earlier days it had received kings and princes within its walls. It is known that King Henry II. was in the Forest of Dean in the summer of 1158, since he granted a charter to Richard de Luci, which he tested at Newnham, between April and August in that year.[1] On this occasion he doubtless visited St. Briavel's, which he probably visited again at the end of 1164, subsequently to the council at Northampton. In the Pipe Roll for this year, under Gloucestershire, I find the following entry: "Pro Lardario Regis portando de Sancto Briavel, ad Merlberg,[2] xv. sol. et ix. den.[3] The Castle was favoured also by King John, who came for the pleasures of the chase on five different occasions: viz.,

A.D. 1200	...	Nov 12.
1207	...	Nov. 15, 16, 17.
1209	...	Dec. 4.
1212	...	Nov. 10, 11, 12.
1213	...	Nov. 28, 29, 30.

The following old rhyme, still known to a few of the more aged villagers, refers to this King's visits:—

"Barrow well water and Worrall's wheat,
Made the best bread that King John did eat.

On the 24th February, 1205, King John ordered two tuns of wine to be sent to St. Briavels; and on the 13th November, 1207, the constable of Bristol was ordered to purchase five dolias of wine, of which two were to be sent to St. Briavels. On the 29th March, 1209, the King granted a market to be holden here weekly, on Saturdays.[4]

At such times as royal visits, the constable of the Castle, who was, I imagine, rarely in residence, came with a lordly retinue, and the old royal borough was full of rejoicings. I doubt much if any

[1] Itinerary of Hen. II., p. 38.

[2] Marlborough. [3] Rot. Pip. 11th Hen. II.

[4] William the Conqueror was in the habit of hunting in the Forest of Dene. He was following the chase there, as it was his custom to do, when he heard of the descent of the Danes on the eastern coast in 1069 (Ordericus Vitalis, vol. II., p. 25).—ED.

of our monarchs visited the Castle subsequently to the reign of Edw. I. Hence its buildings fell into decay.[1] Camden says that in his time more than half the Castle was demolished.[1] In his "Personalities of the Forest of Dean," Nicholls gives a copy of an account, dated 1376-7, of the receipts and charges connected with the repairs of the Castle, from January 6th to October 24th (49th Edw. III). The receipts appear to have been £21 5s.—arising from the sale of underwood, £20; from ashes and old lead remaining after the building of a certain house of the Castle, 25s. The expenses were as under:—

49 fotinells, at 5s. = £12 5s. 24lbs. of lead, 20d. Carriage of lead from Worcester to Bristol, and thence to St. Briavel's, 12s. 2d. 44lbs. of tin at 3d. = 11s. 4 cart-loads of freestone, for the entablement of the said gate = 6s. 8d. Wages of one servant for 21 days "for heightening the walls of the said gate," and for making the entablement for a Porte-colis," to each mason, 3d. per diem, and the servant, 3d. per diem. For the conduct of 22 carts for 22 loads of timber, from Wynholt wood, 10s. 8d. 3 carpenters, for 26 days, one at 5d., the others at 4d. = 18s. 2d. 400 "bord nailles," 5s. One plumber for covering the said gate with lead, 60s. 1d. 10 quarters of lime, 6s. 8d. Stoves for founding the lead, 7s. 2d; 4 locks and keys for the doors of the said gate, 2s. 4d. Clay pans for the timber for catching rains, 2s. 4d. "Expenses of Roger Pylond, janitor, in going and returning for the aforesaid carriage, and staying there for 40 days to superintend the works and artificers, 20s.—"Total of expenses, £21 2s. 7d.[3]

These repairs must have been connected with some other entrance, probably at the south-east, as no freestone appears in the buildings of 1276, these being built of a dark red sandstone, which appears to have been quarried in the Green Meadow.

[1] In the 54th Hen. III. repairs must have been done to the Castle, as in that year Adam, the Reeve of St. Briavells, and several others, were imprisoned for stealing a great part of the timber prepared for the repairs of the Castle. (Nicholls, "Personalities of the Forest of Dean," p. 18).

[2] Brit., Vol. 2, p. 270.

[3] Exchequer Records.

In 1435, £4 19s. 4d. were spent in making a new bridge at the Castle; and 9s. 11d. for repairs of "certain houses, windows, and doors within the castle"[1]

As regards the castle boundaries, the present area, including the moat, is 1a. 2r. 18p. In ancient times the Bailey Tump must have been included in its precincts. Indeed, I venture to hazard the opinion that they extended eastward as far as the present George Inn, and abutted in that direction upon the ancient Venys Street; that they further enclosed the site of the present Vicarage House and part of the garden, as well as the churchyard, and that the Street, called the "Horse Fair" in old times, but which exists no longer, was the old boundary on the north and north-east. This street once passed through what is now the vicarage garden, and continued through what is now a meadow, towards Mork. On the south the boundary may have extended towards the "Green Farm," so as to include the ancient wells within the castle precincts (see plan Plate XII.) In the Green Meadow are certain small eminences where an out work may have stood. I grant that this is conjectural. The officers connected with the castle appear to have been a Constable, who was also Warden of the Forest of Dean, and who was, usually, a man of some rank; the Deputy Constable, chosen from among the resident gentry of the Forest district; the Recorder Chief Clerk, of the Castle Courts; the Porter, who sometimes held the office of Bedel within the Forest; a messor or itinerant officer; and two sergeants. These had certain fees assigned to their offices, and were anciently appointed by patent. The Constable held his appointment during the pleasure of the crown. All the subordinate officers were in the appointment of the constable, who also appointed the Gaveller.[2]

In 1435 the fees and wages were as under:—

To Richard Layland, Esq., Constable	£10.	
To Hugh Cromehale, Receiver ...	£6	13s. 4d.
To the Clerk of the Court		26s. 8d.
To Henry Wyrcestre, Janitor, 2s. day, or		58s. 2d.

To Wm. Repington, Auditor, at 3s. 4d. a day, or 40s. in all.

[1] Exchequer Records, Roll, P.G 2806. Quoted by Nicholls, in his "Personalities of the Forest of Dean," p. 26. [2] Fosbroke's History of Gloucestershire.

A commission appointed 6th Edw. VI. returned the salaries of the various officers of the castle and forest as under:—

The Constable of the Castle ...	£9 8s. 1d.
The Keeper of the Forest	£9 2s. 6d.
The Ranger of do.	£9 2s. 6d.
The Beadle	£9 2s. 6d.

The Salaries were all paid out of the Exchequer. In the reign of Elizabeth, the Constable of the Castle had £9 2s. 6d fee, per annum; the Ranger of the Forest the same; the Beadle, 100s. 3d.[1]

Milo, the first Constable of the Castle, was one of the chief counsellors of Henry I. and an expert soldier.[2] He was made, by the Empress Maud, Earl of Hereford, of which dignity he was deprived by Stephen; but this honour was restored by Henry II. to Milo's eldest son, Roger, the founder of Flaxley Abbey. The three sons of Milo, Roger, Henry, and Mahel all died without issue. Margaret, one of their sisters, married Humphrey de Bohun, whose son Henry was created Earl of Hereford by King John, probably on his surrender of the Constableship of the Castle of St. Briavel's. Milo died in A.D. 1143, being pierced by an arrow shot by a soldier at a deer, when he was hunting on Christmas Eve. He was under excommunication by the Bishop of Hereford, for seizing lands belonging to that see. He was buried at Lanthony Abbey.

Nicholl states[3] that in the fifth year of Stephen the royal quit-rents of the Forest of Dean were granted to Lucy, Milo's third daughter, upon her marriage with Herbert Fitz-Herbert, the king's chamberlain; but it seems very doubtful whether the king would make such a grant, except as a means of conciliating a powerful family, and with a knowledge of the power of the crown to resume its grants at will. It certainly would appear that the Constable of St. Briavel's had great privileges; and further that the office had remained for some time in the family of Milo, since Henry de Bohun is said[4] to have released his interest to King

[1] Cotton's MSS. Tit. B. III. [2] Camden. [3] Forest of Dean, p. 8.
[4] Nicholls' Forest of Dean, p. 9.

John, as though by that act the crown resumed a long-lost possession. It is not, however, probable that a king of the temper of Henry II. would forego the rights of the crown. In fact, the grants he made to Flaxley Abbey conclusively prove that none of such rights in the Forest had been alienated.

John, of Monmouth, was appointed Constable in 1216, by King John. He was the fifth in descent from Wm. Fitz Baderon, to whom the manor of Lydney[1] had been granted by William the Conqueror. One of his last commissions was "to cause to come to Muntgumeri twenty good miners of the Forest of Dean to do the works of the Castle which is being built there."[2] Roger de Clifford, who succeeded John of Monmouth, in 1224, was ordered to repair the towers of the castle.[3] In the 14th Hen. III. he had 55 marks allowed him out of the exchequer, and all succeeding Governors were to have feeding, houseboot, and hayboot out of the forest.[4]

Peter Chacepore, who held the constableship from 1249 to 1256, was "favourite clerk and counsellor to Hen. III., and the Queen's Treasurer." He died at Boulogne on Christmas Eve, and by his will, left one hundred marks for the purchase of land in England, and to build on it a Church for Canons Regular. He paid £170 a year to the crown for his office. His successor farmed the office, and the estimate of the receipts is put at £162 6s. 1d.

In the Rolls of Parliament of 8th Edward III. is the petition of Robert de Sapy, setting forth that the keeping of the Castle of St. Briavel's and of the Forest of Dean was committed to him, and complaining of advantages and revenues being withheld, the King's father, in the 20th year of his reign, having granted to the Abbey of Tynterne, the moiety of a weir near and belonging to the castle, without receiving any rent, which moiety used to

[1] Domesday Book, Bawdwin's Translation. Ormerod in the Strigulensia considers that the Lidney mentioned in Domesday was St. Briavels, as "a half-fishery in the Wye" was attached to the fief.

[2] Nicholls' Pers: Forest of Dean, p. 13. [3] Rot. Lit. Claus.

[4] Sir Robt. Atkyns' History of Gloucestershire, p. 154.

produce fifty shillings annually, and he humbly prays for an abatement of his rent. The result was the allowance of twenty shillings yearly. Nicholls says[1] that the name of this weir was Wythekeswere.

In 1310 John de Haulo was ordered to send a hundred archers and a dozen miners from the Forest to Berwick-on-Tweed.

In 1311 John de Wysham had orders to send 200 men to North Allerton.

In 1333 Robert de Sapy, who filled the office of constable a second time, was commanded to buy 500 pieces of iron; 5000 horse shoes and nails ("ferri pro equis cum clavis ad eos pertinentibus"), and to send them to Bristol to be forwarded to Ireland against the passage of the King[2] (Edward III.), who was "going to repel his Irish enemies."

In 1341 Guy de Brian found the revenues of the castle so diminished, that he requested either reparation, or removal from his office; and upon enquiry it was found that the receipts had decreased to £116 4s. 5¾d.. Nine years later his annual rent was reduced to £80. Guy de Brian was one of the most notable of those who held the castle of St. Briavel's He procured for the Burgesses of the town, in 26th Edward III., freedom from all tolls, pontage, pavage, murage, pickage, and lastage, throughout the realm. He was summoned to Parliament, 25th Edward III., but his name does not appear on the Roll after the 12th Richard II. He is mentioned by Froissart as one of the witnesses of a letter written by King Edward III. to Aquitaine in 1370; and as commanding an English fleet in a battle fought with the Flemings under John Peterson, off the island of Bas, on the coast of Brittany, in which battle the English were victorious. He was 57th Knight of the Garter, in the stall of Sir John Chandos. He

[1] Personalites of the Forest of Dean, p. 19. This name is, without doubt, a clerical error, for Bythekesweir, now Bigsweir, on the river Wye, where it approaches nearest to the castle. The remains of the weir still exist close to Bigsweir Mansion House. In 13th Edward II. the Bishop of Llandaff was seized of Bigsweir, and six years later it had passed to the Abbey of Tintern (Camden Brit., vol. I., p. 154. Ed. 1722.—Ed.

[2] Abb. Rot. Orig.

was third husband to Elizabeth, dowager of William, Earl of Salisbury, and was brother to the Bishop of Ely. He was rewarded by a special grant of 200 marks "quod prudenter deferebat vexillum regis in quodum conflictu apud Cales"—"because he bore the standard of the King prudently in a certain encounter near Calais."[1] He died in the 14th Richard II., and was buried at Tewkesbury Abbey. In Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments" is a plate of his tomb. The grant to the Duke of Gloucester, who succeeded him, is thus stated in the Cotton Records :—"Whereas the King granted late before to the Duke of Glo'ster in especiall tayle the Castle of St. Brionell (*sic*) and the Forest of Dean, he now, by assent of Parliament, granted that the said Duke should hold the Forrest as a Forrest."[2]

Thomas, Earl of Buckingham, afterwards Duke of Gloucester, was the youngest son of Edward III. He was sent in command of some troops to assist the Duke of Brittany, and landed with his army at Calais, "three days before Magdalen day," in 1380. In consequence of a peace being made between the Duke of Brittany and the King of France, the Earl returned home in great disgust. He was suspected of favouring the people in the Wat Tyler rebellion; but there appears to have been no proof of it. The Earl was created Duke of Gloucester at Christmas, 1386, when the French invasion of England was given up. He afterwards conspired with the Duke of York and others against the King and his council, and invited the citizens of London to make complaint to the King against the increased taxation. When the King took up arms against his uncles, he was defeated by the Duke of Gloucester at Oxford. As the Duke continued to conspire against the King

[1] On 8th Feb., 44th Edward III., (1370), a payment was made out of the exchequer in payment of a portion of an allowance of £80 a year, granted by letters patent to Sir Guy de Brian for the term of his life, for the good service rendered, and to be rendered, by him to the Lord the King: to wit, £60 out of the farm of the Castle of St. Briavell and of the Forest of Dean, and the remaining £20 out of the Exchequer (Devon's Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter, Lord High Treasurer, p. 436.—ED.

[2] The King gave to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, in special tail: viz., to him and his heirs, males, the Castle of St. Briavel and Forest of Dean, by services due, &c. Rot Pat. 14th Richard II., Part II., m. 17.—ED.

and to incite the Londoners and others against the taxes, he was arrested by the King's order, and, having been conveyed to Calais, was strangled or smothered. The Duke married Eleanor, the elder daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and through her became possessed of the castle of Pleshy in Essex[1]

The Duke of Gloucester was succeeded in the constableship of the castle by John of Gloucester, a natural son of Richard, who made way in 1399 for John, Duke of Bedford, afterwards the celebrated Regent of France. His widow, Jacqueline de Luxembourg, had the constableship in 1435. By her second marriage she became the wife of Sir Richard Woodville and the mother of Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV. Jacqueline was the daughter of the Count of St. Pol, and niece of Louis, Bishop of Therouenne, Chancellor to Henry, King of France. Monstrelet says that "the damsel was handsome, well-made, and lively," and that the Bishop was so pleased at the match that "he presented to the Church of Therouenne two magnificent bells, which he had sent thither from England at his own cost." Two years later Jacqueline was a widow.

Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, who was constable in 1467, was killed at Barnet, in the Wars of the Roses; and with his death waned the fortunes of the House of Lancaster.

Edward V. in his brief reign of three months," with the "assent and consent of his very dear uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester," granted the office of Constable of the Castle and of the Forest of Dene to Richard Williams and Thomas Beynam, "to have and to hold the same by themselves, or by their sufficient deputy or deputies, for their joint lives and that of the survivor of them.[2] The tenants of the manor were admitted to their estates by the Constable of the Castle until the second year of Henry III., when it was ordered that they should compound with the King for their fines.[3]

In the Fine Rolls occurs an order to the Constable of the Castle, dated 1224, requiring him without delay to assign to

[1] Froissart and Cotton's Records. For an Account of this celebrated Castle, see Gough's "History of Pleshey." Ed. [2] Harleian MSS. No. 433.
[3] Sir Robert Atkyns' History of Gloucestershire.

Macian, wife of Walding, son of John, our "Minitor," who died in our service at Bedford, four acres of land in the place where an assignment of land had been made to other "Minitors," who were in the king's service. This land was granted for the support of Macian and her children, at an accustomed rent.

In 1265, the king granted to Edward, his eldest son, in fee, the castle of St. Briavel and the Forest of Dene, so that they be not separated from the crown.[1]

In the 24th Edw. I., Agatha de Dene held the manor of St. Briavel's.

In the 12th Edw. II. Hugh le Despencer held the manor, with fairs and markets.

In the reign of Edw. III. Richard of Dene enfeoffed John of Monmouth, in 10 acres of land in St. Briavel's, with the custody of the park there; and William Waryn held 12 acres of land in St. Briavel's, for the service of guarding the castle; also Richard Aubrey, of Bregenok, enfeoffed Walter of Ocle, in Wellington manor, in Newland, as of the Castle of St. Briavel; and John of Monmouth, enfeoffed John Stevens, of Nass, in 10 acres of land, in the town of St. Briavel, and the custody of the Forest of Dene.

In a charter, granted in the 35th Edw. III. to the Abbey of Gratia Dei, near Monmouth, in which the king, on the petition of the Abbot, allows the two chantry priests, who had been placed in the hermitage of St. Briavel, at Stowe, to return to their Abbey, in consequence of the encroachments made on their lands by the king's tenants, and by the wild animals of the forest, there is the following clause:—"And lest the said chantry be in any way withdrawn, we will that every abbot of the aforesaid place for the time being, as soon as he shall have been preferred, go to the warden or constable of our castle of St. Briavel, and before him in person take an oath that they, the said abbot and convent, will find and sustain the said chantry of two monks in their abbey in the form above expressed.[2]

[1] Rot. Pat., 50th Hen. III., m.30, No. 76.

[2] Dugdale, Monas. Angl.

In the 5th Ric. II., Thomas Hathewey, of Ruardean, held a messuage and forty acres of land in St. Briavel's, as of the castle of St. Briavell. In the 8th Ric. II., Aleanor of Haresfield, held one messuage at Blakeneye, and one carucate of land there, and the castle of St. Briavel in Dene Forest; also John Stevens enfeoffed James Gayner in 10 acres of land at St. Briavell's with the bailiwick of Dene Forest.

In the 2nd Hen. IV., Constance, widow of Thomas, Lord le Despenser and Earl of Gloucester, who conspired against Hen. IV. and was beheaded by a mob at Bristol, A.D. 1400, was attached, as tenant of the lands, &c., of the aforesaid Thomas, to render to the King for the aforesaid Thomas an account of the issues of the castles of Gloucester, St. Briavell's, and Elmely.[1]

In the 3rd Henry IV., Henry de Aure died seized of 10 tenements and an office called Foresterswike, held by castle-ward, Richard, son and heir.

In the 5th Henry V., Thomas of Berkeley, chevalier, and Margaret, his wife, held St. Briavel's Castle. In the 14th Hen. VI., John of Bedford, held St. Briavel's Castle, lordship, and town, and Dene Forest, with all the liberties belonging thereto. In the following year, Robert Baynam held two parts of the manor of Dene Magna, and £6 5s. 9d., annual rents from the free tenants there," "as of the castle of St. Briavels." In the 31st year of the same king, Elizabeth,[2] lately Countess of Worcester, held part of the castle of St. Briavel, with two parts of a share in the manor of Dene Magna, together with the advowson of the church, as of the castle of St. Briavel.

[1] Memd[a]. Roll. L.T.R. Trinity, Roll. 17, 2nd Hen. IV.

[2] She was the widow of John Tiptoft, or Tibetot, Earl of Worcester, known by the sobriquet of "John Butcher," on account of his severities. He was the only person put to death after the defeat of Edw. IV. by Warwick, and the re-instatement of Henry VI. on the throne. He died seized of 1 messuage, 1 virgate of land, and 4 acres of meadow, and 4 acres of wood, called Hatheweys tenement, in the vill of St. Briavel, held of George, Duke of Clarence, as of his castle of St. Briavel, by 28s. 4d. per annum, and being capital forester over all the foresters (Inq., p. m. 9th and 10th Edw. IV., No. 53). Elizabeth and her son John died sine prole. Wm. Walwyn succeeded the Earl, being the son of Joan, sister of Robt. Greyndour, the father of Elizabeth. Halleshall was granted to Henry, Earl of Worcester.—Pat. Roll. 28th Hen. VIII.

In the 7th Edw. IV., Margaret, Countess of Salop, held part of the castle of St. Briavel. In the 16th year of the same king, Thomas Staunton held portions of the castle of St. Briavel.

In 1400, the king granted to his son John in general tail the castle, lordship, and town of St. Briavel and the Forest of Dene for the accustomed service.[1]

In 1465, Richard Nevill, and Anne, his wife, were seized of the castle, and manor of St. Briavel, and levied a fine of them to the use of themselves in tail, with remainder to the right heirs of Richard Beauchamp, late Earl of Warwick; and the same countess afterwards levied a fine of them to the use of Henry VII., in the third year of his reign.[2]

[1] Rot. Pat. 1st Hen. IV., part 4, m. 5.

[2] The case of this unfortunate lady was a very sad and singular one, and although, of course, known generally to our readers, it may not be amiss, as briefly as possible, to state it here. She was the daughter of Richard de Beauchamp, 14th Earl of Warwick (cr. Earl of Albermarl), by his second wife, Isabell, widow of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, and sole heir of Thomas, Baron le Despenser, and upon the death, in infancy, of her niece, Anne (styled Countess of Warwick), daughter and sole heir of Henry de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (cr. Duke of Warwick, 1445, and the same year crowned King of the Isle of Wight, by Henry VI. himself), inherited the whole of the great possessions of the de Toënies, the le Despensers, and the Beauchamps. She married Richard Neville, who thereupon was confirmed in the Earldom of Warwick. This Patent, however, he resigned in 1450, and obtained a new Patent with different limitations. Richard was to be Earl of Warwick during his life, and Anne, Countess of Warwick during her life, and after the deaths of Richard and Anne the heirs of Anne were to possess the dignity and estates, and if Anne died s.p. the Earldom, &c., was to descend to Margeret, Countess of Shewesbury, the eldest of the three daughters of Richard de Beauchamp, by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of Thomas, 10th Baron Berkeley (see ante p. 304). After the death of Richard Neville on the field of Barnet, his estates were confiscated. He left two daughters, co-heirs. Isabel married her cousin, George, Duke of Clarence, who, as her marriage portion, received one half of the Countess of Warwick's large estates. Anne, the younger, eventually married Richard, Duke of Gloucester (Richard III.); but their issue became extinct. As, however, under the Patent of 1450, upon the death of the Earl of Warwick, the dignities and estates of the de Beauchamp family devolved upon the Countess, in 14th Edward IV., for the purpose of securing the estates to the King's brothers, by an Act of Parliament it was ordained that the unfortunate Countess should be treated as naturally dead, and that the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester should enjoy all the honours and estates of the said Countess

In 1466, the king granted to Wm., Lord Herbert, in special tail, namely, to his heirs male, a third part of the castle of St. Briavel.[1]

In the Hundred Roll of the County of Gloucester, temp. Edward I., occurs the following entry: "They say that S. Briavel's hath a return of writs, and an assize of bread and ale, and pleas for illegal distress (de namio vetito) and gallows (furcas), and it is added, Robert de Muscegros "habet furcas."[2]

As regards the Courts attached to the Castle, the Miners' Court was very ancient, dating from the year 1300 at the latest, since it is mentioned in the Miners' Laws of that period. It was a court of attachment for fiefs, escheats, and recovery of debts, and was held every three weeks. With regard to the proceedings in court three hands or witnesses were required in evidence. The oath was taken with a stick of holly in the hand of the witness, with this he had to touch the four Gospels. The same stick was commonly used, so that it became, as it were, consecrated by long

(Rot. Parl., Vol. VI., p. 100). This act was annulled by another, 3rd Henry VII., as "against all reason, conscience, and the course of nature, and as being contrary to the laws of God and man," but the politic and parsimonious Henry, though ready to stigmatise the conduct of his predecessor, seems to have done so, more with a view to his own interest than out of compassion for the unhappy Countess, for no sooner was she in possession of her vast estates than she was cited by the King to appear in the Court of King's Bench and shew by what right she held her lands and manors. She appeared, and in court ceded and granted the whole to the King and his heirs male for ever, and confirmed the same by the fine referred to in the text. She could have no love for Henry, and probably had no other motive than to secure peace. We have searched in vain for further trace of her, and conclude she retired to a convent, and hope she obtained that rest which she never before possessed.—Ed.

[1] Rot. Pat., 6th Edw. IV., part 2, m. 21.

[2] The lord had the privilege of setting up the "furca" within the limits of his fee.

Sir John Maclean in his paper on the Manor of English Bicknor (Trans., vol. I.,69), says that Robt. de Muchegros, son and heir of John de Muchegros, aged 23 years, 3rd Edw. I., held the manor of Kenemerton (Kemerton). He married Agnes, daughter of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, and died 9th Edw. I., (1281), leaving an only daughter, Hawisia de Muchegros, aged 4 years, 21st December, 9th Edward I. She held the manor of English Bicknor as heir of Cecilia de Muchegros, and died before the 24th Edward III. (1350.)

usage. The custom doubtless arose from a desire not to soil the Holy Book. In connection with this court was the debtor's prison in the western tower, to which allusion has already been made. A reference to this court and to the building in which it was held occurs in the Report of the Commissioners to the Crown in 1692 :—"The Castle of St. Briavel's hath been a very great and ancient building, but the greatest part is ruined and fallen down, and only some part kept up for a place to hold the courts in for the King's Manor and Hundred thereof, and also for a prison for debtors attached by process out of the said courts, and for offenders and trespassers within the Forest. The same is very necessary to be repaired, and for mending the roof and tyling, and in glazing, plaistering, repairing the prison windows and building a new pound, &c., will cost the sum of £10 14s. 2d." The Mine-law Court was held before the Constable as Steward of the Court, or his Deputy ; but from 4th Anne to 5th George I., it was held before the deputies of Charles, Earl of Berkeley, who is styled in the court papers Lord High Steward of Her Majesty's court of pleas, courts leet, and mine-law courts, within the Forest, he having obtained a patent[1] for these purposes, though not Constable of the castle. The parties had to wear their woofs, or working caps, on their heads during the examination.

The Earl of Pembroke, as constable, claimed to be judge of this court. Causes tried in it were not determined by forest laws or any written law of the realm, but according to the custom of the court itself and the miners' laws. The miners exercised a legislative power, and made laws for themselves as often as they saw occasion.[2]

The following are extracts from the Miners' laws and privileges :

"If any smithman bee in Monmouth or Trellich, then the smith-holder *within* shall come to St. Briavel's Gate, and there

[1] Pat. Pat : 2nd Anne, Part I., Roll. 10. This Patent also appoints him : Custos omnium Ferarum et Boscorum infra predictam forestam durante bene placito,—feodum 40 li per annum.—ED.

[2] Fosbroke's History of Gloucester, vol. II., page 141.

with three hands" (or witnesses) shall prove his smithman, and, the prooffe made, a precept shall be delivered by the Constable to the Gaveller, the which is Bailiffe of the said Myne, to forbidd the Mine of him that occupieth the said smithman till hee bee restored, and only of him and of noe other. . . ye Miner shall present the debtor in the Mine Law, the wch is Court for the Myne. And there the debtor, before the Constable and his Clarke, the Gaveller and the Miners, and none other Folke to plead right, but onely the Miners shall bee there and hold a stick of holly, and then the said Myner demanding the debt shall putt his hand upon the said sticke and none others with him, and shall sweare upon his Faith that the said debt is to him due, and, the prove made, the debtor, in the same place, shall pay the Miner all the debt proved, or els hee shall be brought to the Castle of St. Briavell's till gree[1] be made, and also hee shall be amerssed to the King in two shillings, and the same manner Myner to Myner and Myner to all other folke."

"Noe stranger of what degree soever hee bee, but only that beene borne and abiding within the Castle of St. Brevill's and the bounds of the Forrest, as is aforesaid, shall come w^t^ in the Mine to see and knowe ye privities of our Souvaigne (*sic*) Lord the King in the said Mine."

The Mine Court has not been held at the castle for many years. The Manor Court is still held there by the Steward, who is attended by the Bailiffs of the Court. A jury of 12 is summoned, who choose their foreman. A charge, which sounds quaint from the many obsolete requirements which it sets forth, is read by the Steward, after which presentments may be made of encroachments upon the waste of the manor, or other matters of a like nature. The jury, accompanied by the president of the court, usually make a personal inspection of such matters of this kind as are brought under their notice.

In ancient times the Recorders or Clerks of the Castle courts were appointed by Letters Patent of the Constables.

There are among the muniments at Berkeley Castle the original Letters Patent, dated 12th Feb. 1658-9, by which Major-General

[1] Satisfaction. Bailey.

Desborough, under the style and title of John Lord Disbrowe, (see post p. 362 n.) appointed William Powles, of Cockshoote, in the Parish of Newnham, gent., Recorder or Chief Clerk of all the courts pertaining to the office of Constable of the Castle of St. Briavell's, and to the office of Keeper of the deer and of the game in the Forest of Dean.

And among other documents in my possession is the exemplication of a fine levied in the court of St. Briavel's before the deputy constable and others,[1] between Jonathan Vaughan and William Charles, plaintiffs, and John Watkins and Anna, his wife, and James Watkins, deforciants, of certain premises in Little Dean and Blakeney. The instrument bears the seal of William James, D.C., a shield charged with a castle, and as a crest, upon an esquire's helmet, a bugle-horn stringed. The endorsement shows the practice of the court to make proclamation of such fines in open court on four consecutive court days.

The earliest mention of a fine levied at St. Briavel's is in the Fine Roll of King John, A.D. 1213, 29th November. This record states that Roeland Bloet made a fine with the king of 300 marks, and 7 palfreys for the lands of Roger de Meisy.[2] As already noticed the king was ot St. Briavel's on the above day. Other references to St. Briavel's occur in the Fine Rolls. Thus, in 1234 (18th Hen. III.) the King received the homage of Walter Wither son and heir of Richard Wither, for the lands which the said Richard held of the King in the Bailiwick of the Constable of St. Briavell, of which lands the said Walter was the rightful heir, And the Constable of the Castle was ordered, on receiving security for the payment of the fine (20s.), to give full seisin. This was tested by the King, at Gloucester on 2nd June.[3] In the same year Will' de Lacu made a fine of 15s. with the King for his relief of the lands lately belonging to Alured de Lacu, his brother, in the bailiwick of the Constable of St. Briavell's Castle. This was tested at Westminster, on 13th July.[4]

In 1248, the Constable was ordered to give to Wm. Hathewy, son of Nigel, full seisin of all lands which his father held of fee

[1] This instrument is dated "28th April, 14th Geo. II." [2] Rot Fin 15th. John, m. 3. [3] Ibid. 18th Hen. III., m. 7. [4] Ibid., m. 5.

in the Forest of Dene, at the time of his death. This was tested at Windsor, 27th April.[1]

In 1250, the King, for a fine of 20 marks, granted to Philip Wyther the wardship of the lands and heirs of William Hathewy, with the right of bestowing the wards in marriage. And he also granted to Thomas of Blakeney, for a fine of 5 marks, the wardship of the lands and heirs of Robert Warin, with the right of bestowing the wards in marriage. Also to Philip Bauderon was conceded the wardship of the lands and heirs of Alexander Bleys, with the same privilege on payment of a fine of 40s. In each case the fine was to be paid in equal instalments at Easter and Michaelmas; and the Constable of the Castle, on receiving security, was to give full seisin. In 1251, the Constable of the Castle was ordered to admit to bail, "a reasonable fine being taken according to their means," Richard Clark, of Micheldean, and Thomas de Clifford, detained in the King's Castle of St. Briavell "for hunting deer in our Forest of Dene," till the next coming of the King's Justices into those parts. This is also tested at Westminster, 15th August.

Similar orders of the same date were issued to the Constable of the Castle respecting Walter Prid', Walter, his son, Thos. Faber, John de Wodeward, and Tracey Clerk, imprisoned at the Castle.

As regards those holding subordinate offices in connection with the Castle, we find that in the time of Richard III., James Mountjoy had the office of Porter of St. Briavel's Castle (called "Symme Revel"), with that of Bedel within the Forest during pleasure, and Geo. Huett the office of Rider of the same with that of Alecconner within the parish of Newland.[1] And, among the grants from the Crown, occur the following:—

July 9th. Greenwich, 1st Hen. VIII. Del., at West., 21st July, Philip Cachemaid to be riding forester of Dean Forest; taster of Newland ale within the said forest with the gawlership of one

[1] In 1267 the King confirmed to R. (Richard de Carew, consc. 1256) Bishop of Menevensis (St. David's), in fee, all the hereditaments in la Newlande, within the Forest of Sancto Briavello to hold *in capite*. (Rot. Pat. 5th Edward I., m. 20.)—Ed.

side of the wood towards Newland. "Philip Cachemay to be keeper during pleasure, of the Gawle, called 'the Gawle above the Wode,' in Dean Forest, Glou. Corfe Castle 20th August, 2nd Hen. VIII., Del. Knoll, 25th September."[1]

"To Rich. Cachemaid, Page of the chamber, the rangership of Dene forest, Glouc., granted to John Pike, deceased, by Edw. IV., with the fees out of the town of St. Briavells and Dene Forest. Richmond 8th Dec., 2nd Hen. VIII. Del. Oxford, 17th Dec."[2]

"For Richard Cachemayd, Page of the chamber, to be Beadle of the Forest of Dean, Glouc., in the same manner as Thomas Moton held it, with fees out of the Lordship of St. Briavell's and Dean forest. Greenwich 15th June, 4th Hen. VIII.[3] 11th April, 1520.

"Ric. Cachemaid, Page of the Chamber, and Tho. Garton, Page of the Wardrobe of Beds, to be Beadles of the Forest of Dean, Glouc., and doorwards of the Castle of St. Briavel there, upon surrender by Cachemaid of patent 30th July, 4th Hen. VIII."[4] "Greenwich, 10th March, 11th Henry VIII. Delivered at Westminster, 11th April.

As regards those holding lands in the forest on condition of certain services rendered, several entries occur in the records. Thus, in the reign of King John, Jeffery Wither held the town of St. Briavel, with 12 acres of land and a Bailiwick in the Forest of Dean, which had been held by his ancestors.

In the 53rd Henry III., Walter Wyther died seized of a messuage; 6s. per annum rent, and 12 acres of land held by the service of finding a servant on foot to guard the forest. He also held 12 acres of land in Caldwell, by 4s. per annum, paid to the Castle of St. Briavel's. Sybil, wife of Robert de Bruneshope, and Elizabeth, wife of Walter Water, were his daughters and heirs.

In the 10th Edw. II., William Hathewy died seized of a capital messuage, with a garden and 24 acres of land, and 30 free tenancies paying 30s. per annum rent of assize by the service of being a

[1] Rot. Pat. 2nd Hen. VIII., p. 2, m. 6. [2] Rot. Pat. 2nd Hen. VIII, p. 2, m. 6. [3] Rot. Pat. 4th Henry VIII., p. 1, m. 18. [4] State Papers, Domestic Series.

capital forester and castle ward, with a man and horse 40 days during war.[1]

In the 17th of the same King, William de Staure died seized of a messuage and 12 acres of land, held by the service of forestership and attachment of verd and venison.[2]

In the 31st Henry VIII., William Aylburton, gent., died seized of 2 mills and 80 acres of land in St. Briavel's, and the offices of Bleysbale and forester in fee, held of the King as of his castle of St. Briavel's, in soccage by 3s. 4d. rent. Thomas, son and heir.[3]

It appears that the bailiffs of certain bailiwicks were bound to find a servant the whole year to attach of verd and veni-

[1] The lands of which the said William died seized were as under :—He held of the King *in capite* by the service of Serjeanty of finding, in time of war, one man for forty days, with horse and arms, at the Castle of St. Breauvels, and being Chief Forester of the Lord the King for the whole Forest of Dene, one messuage with garden, worth 12d. per annum, 24 acres of arable land worth, per annum, 4s.— per acre, 2d.; and there were there 30 free tenants holding divers tenements, and rendering, per annum, rent of assize, 30s. He held also at Lidenie, of the Earl of Warwick, by the service of one rose, 2½ acres of meadow, worth 3s. 9d. ; and he held at Ruardyn, of Alexander de Byknore, at the rent of 4s 9d. for all services, one messuage with garden, which is of the value of 12d., 30 acres of arable land, value per annum, 5s., and the 4th part of a mill, value, per annum, 5s , and divers tenants rendering, per annum, rent of assize, 20s. And William, son of the said William was found to be his nearest heir (Inq., p. m., 10th Edw. II., No. 57). In the same year Ralph de Hathewy died seized of one messuage with garden and dove-cot and 30 acres of arable land in Rodmore, held of the King *in capite*, as of the Manor of St. Breauell, by the service of 4s. rent. And the said Ralph and Elizabeth, his wife, held in demesne, as of fee, of Sarra Talebot, 5 acres of land, 4 acres of meadow, and 6s. 8d. annual rent, rendering 12s. rent for all services. And the said Ralph held in his demesne, as of fee in Minstreworth, of Henry de Lancastre, at the rent of 39s. 7d. for all services, one messuage with garden, 20 acres of arable land and 10 acres of meadow. And the jury say that William, son of the said Raplh, is his nearest heir, and is aged 16 years (Inq., p. m., 10th Edw. II., No. 58). *Note.*—John de Byknore was one of the jury on each of these Inquisitions—Ed.

[2] In the reign of Edw. II., William de Staury gave 20s. for his relief of certain lands and tenements at St. Briavells, held by the Serjeanty of being the King's Forester in the Forest of Dene, and making allotments of vert and venison, and leading the persons attached to the Castle of St. Briavel's (Harl. MS. 34, No. 56.)—Ed.

[3] Esc., 31st Henry VIII.

son,[1] that certain persons held lands by this tenure,[2] that not only attachment of verd and venison, but breaches of the peace in general belonged to such servants;[3] that such servants were (at least sometimes), limited to a certain part of their guard, as the bailiwick of their employers;[4] that the foresters attached of verd and venison, and carried their offenders to the castle;[5] that capital foresters had their office over the whole forest;[6] that the bailiwicks of guarding the forest had also, sometimes, the guarding of the castle in time of war united with them;[7] and that forestership were sometimes confined only to guarding the castle in time of war;[8] at least instances occur where no more is expressed.[9]

Among the State papers (Domestic series), are a few documents relating to the Constable of the Castle. Thus, on 11th June, 1611, Demise was made to the Earl of Pembroke of the manor, town, and Castle of St. Briavell's; and on 10th April, 1622, the Lord Treasurer gives orders to the clerks of the Pipe "to inrol and execute the privy seal, allowing defalcation of £21 per annum to the Earl of Pembroke out of his rent of £87 5s. for the Lordship and Castle of St. Briavel's." This document enclosed an order or warrant to the officers of the Exchequer to continue the allowance of the above defalcation. This is dated April 5th. On 2nd March, 1627, a further warrant was issued to the same end.

I will now notice the lands attached to the Constableship of the Castle. These were the lands called the St. Briavel's Parks, and Whitemead, near Parkend. In the parliamentary survey of

[1] Esc., 43rd Henry III. No. 20.

The Manor of Ruardean was, at one time, held *in capite* by serjeanty and the annual payment of 23s., and attendance on the Constable of the Castle of St. Briavels, with a horse and a coat of mail to accompany him within the bounds of the Forest, at the tenant's own cost.—ED.

[2] Ibid., 13th Edward I. No. 8. We learn from the Harl. MSS. that in the reign of Edw. I., Robert le Brocer made fine by one mark for his relief of land, which he held *in capite* of the King in the Forest of St. Briavels, by the service of finding one footman to keep the Forest.—ED.

[3] Ibid., 24th Edward I. No. 89. [4] Ibid., 34th Edward, I. No. 216.

[5] Esc., 3rd Richard II. No. 98. [6] Ibid., 3rd Henry IV. No. 39.

[7] Fosbroke's History of Gloucester.

[8] Ibid., 2nd Edward II. No. 49. [9] Ibid., 10th Edward II. No. 37.

lands belonging to Charles I., in 1651, the following Return, respecting St. Briavel's Parks, was made by the commissioners.

"The Great Park, divided into two closes, bounded on the east by a close called "The Park" in the tenure of Sir Wm. Catchman, on the south by certain grounds called Ellismores (Aylesmore) belonging to the said Sir Wm. Catchman, and bounded by a highway leading from Hewersffeild to Saint Breviall's; on the west by a close called Perkin's Croft; on the north by a highway leading through the said Park, containing, by estimacon, 43 acres, more or less, and vallued at per annum xxxiiiij^{li} (£35.)

The Little Park bounded on the east by Highgrove, in the tenure of Sir William Catchman; on the south by the highway through the said park; on the west by the Middle Close, part of the Little Park; on the north by grounds called the Silverlands and Dunkells, in the tenure of one Captain Carpenter, containing, by estimation, 25 acres, more or less, vallued at, per annum, £15.

A Close, or parcel of pasture or arable ground with appurtenances called the Middle Close, parcel of the said Park; bounded on the east by the east part of the Little Park; on the south by the highway through "The Park;" on the west by the West Close part of the Little Park; and on the north by certain lands called the Silverlands, conteyning 3 acres, vallued at xxxvjs. (36s.)

The parcel of meadow called the West Close, parcel of the said park, abutted on the east by the Middle Close; on the south by the highway through "The Park;" on the west and north by certain lands in the tenure of Richard Morgan, conteyning, by estimacion, 6 acres, vallued at iiij.^{li} x.^{s} (£4 10s.)

"All this Park and parcels of land in the tenure of Mr. Horton, who holds the same at the will and pleasure of Mr. Robert Gough, who claymes to hold the same and to receive the profitts in right of the executors of the late Earl of Pembroke, who held them by patent from the late King for divers years yet to come.

The commissioners advise that the clayme be made good before The Honourable the Trustees, as no such patent was produced to them." This document is dated 13th Oct., 1651.

The lands at Whitemead appear to have consisted of two farms.

St. Briavel's Parks were sold by the Crown some few years ago, and now form part of Highgrove farm.

In or about the year 1758 a memorial was presented to the Treasury by Elizabeth, Countess of Berkeley, as one of the trustees and guardians of Frederick Augustus, Earl of Berkeley, an infant, setting forth that the late Earl was a lessee under the crown of the Castle and Park of St. Briavel's ; that the part of the castle then standing consisted of only "a few rooms for holding courts for the Hundred of St. Briavel's, and business relating to the forest, a prison, and for a keeper to reside in." The same is stated as being "in a very ruinous condition," and that unless repairs be done "the courts cannot beh eld, nor can any persons be confined in the prison without endangering their lives." This memorial, which enclosed particulars of repairs needed, was referred to John Pitt, Esq., the Surveyor-General.

Judging from the enclosure, the castle was in a sad state, as the court-rooms are said to need new floors and new ceilings, the walls to require plastering and the windows to need glazing. The stack of steps leading to the court room require to be re-built. All the north front of the castle, once the prison, and the part which was inhabited was so out of repair that the roof was in part falling in, and a portion of the enclosure wall—about 45 perches, needed re-building. The Surveyor General reported that the repairs ought to be executed—the cost being estimated at £62 3s. 9d. An order of the Treasury was accordingly made authorising the repairs, the cost of which was to be met by felling timber in the forest.

In November, 1772, Lord Berkeley's agent, who appears also to have been the Clerk of St. Briavel's Courts, complains of the sad state of the castle. He says that "some of the principal walls had fallen down." The result of this complaint was the preparation of estimates. He speaks of the delay in subsequent letters as adding much to the expense from the increasing dilapidations.

In November, 1774, he says "I daily expect to hear of the fall of the principal part of the castle, which has been propped up

some time; and he adds "indeed, if something be not done before winter, I feel the consequence may be dreadful, for it adjoins to the room the courts are held in above and the stable below. Still nothing was done, and in December, 1775, he urges the commencement of the repairs in the ensuing spring. An estimate appears to have been made, but the Surveyor-General made objections to certain items as unnecessary.

In April, 1777, a further estimate was made. This included the partial re-building of the eastern tower. This estimate was £371 18s. 4d.

About this time a memorial was presented to the crown by the Earl of Berkeley, praying for the grant of a new lease of the manor, township, and Castle of St. Briavel's, and the manor of Newlands, and the Park of Whitemead. The report of the Surveyor-General on this memorial I give *in extenso*, with the exception of the opening clause. It is as follows:—"I find that his late Majesty, George II., by Letters Patent, under the Exchequer seal, bearing date the 2nd day of July, in the 22nd year of his reign (1748) did demise the premises to Augustus, Earl of Berkeley (the Mem$^{sts.}$ late Father, decd.) for a term of 31 years from this date (on surrender of a former lease) at and under the yearly rent of £66 5s., out of which rent the Constable of the Castle of St. Briavel's claims an ancient fee of £40 per annum, for the wages of six Foresters of the Forest of Dean, which sum is directed by the said lease, to be paid to the Constable of the s^{d} Castle for the time being out of the said rent, and to be allowed in the Sheriff's Accounts. And I find the Memst is entitled to the premises for the residue of the said term, which will expire the 13th day of July, 1779, N.S.

The Premises consist of the Manor of St. Briavel's and Newlands, and the Castle of St. Briavel's, where the Courts of the said Manors and for the Hundred of St Briavel's are held.

Chief rent and Herbage money, amounting to	£36	0	5½
And Quarry rents	2	10	0

The lands belonging to this Estate are Whitemead and St. Briavel's Parks, which I have caused to be surveyed and plans to be made thereof, whereby it appears that Whitemead Park contains, by admeasurement, 229A. 1R. 13P., now let to Thomas Barrow and Sarah Jones, at ...				£90 0 0 per. an.
And that St. Briavel's Park contains 103A. 2R. 31P. let to Thomas Baker at the rent of				£55 0 0
Total Ann. Value				£183 10 5½
Out of which are to be reprized—				
The King's rent ...	£66	5	0	
Land Tax... ...	11	19	6	
And to the Bailiff to collect the Rents ...	3	3	0	
				81 7 6
Clear Annl Value ...				£102 2 11½

"If it shall be your Lordship's pleasure to grant the Memorialists' Request, I am of opinion that a New Lease of the Premises may be granted to him for a reversionary term of twenty-eight years and-a-half.

Fine, £1050; to commence from the 13th day of July.

Rent, £66 5s., 1779, which will be worth a Fine of one thousand and fifty Pounds to be now paid, Reserving to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the aforesaid yearly rent of sixty-six Pounds five shillings, which will be agreeable to the Civil List Act.

The Memorialist alledges that the Antient Castle of St. Briavel's, with the Buildings thereunto belonging, are become very ruinous, and prays your Lordship to consider the great expence of the repairs thereof."

I have made enquiry to what uses the castle is applied, and am informed that time out of mind there has been a Court of Record held there every three weeks for the trial of all personal actions arising within the Hundred of St. Briavel's, and that Fines of Land, within the same Hundred, have usually been levied there; that the said Hundred is of large extent, including the whole Forest of Dean, with 11 Parishes thereunto adjoining; that there was a prison within the castle for prisoners convicted at the said court, and a keeper thereof is resident within the castle; that a pound is also annexed to the castle for the use of the Manors of St. Briavel's and Newlands, and that the Courts leet and Courts Baron for the said Hundred and Manors are also held there.

I am informed by the Surveyor whom I employed on this occasion, that the castle is in a most ruinous state, that some parts of it have lately fallen down,[1] and that the whole is likely to fall if not speedily repaired."

The estimated cost of the repairs was £371 18s. 4d., and the money was raised by a fallage of timber in the Forest.

There are other documents, all relating to the ruinous state of the Castle, and to occasional repairs, down to the year 1801, but it does not appear necessary to give any further extracts.

For the space of forty years at least, the court and jury rooms were used for the parochial school. They ceased to be used as such in 1872. At the present time the jury-room is a carpenter's workshop; and is much out of repair. The court-room or chapel is fast becoming a ruin; the flooring has been torn up; the judge's and jury's seats, and the barriers, have all been removed; the windows are shattered, and the roof almost uncovered.

The Castle and its precincts are let on lease by the crown, at a low rental, and the only relic of its former importance is the

[1] This must have been the Eastern entrance-tower. In its fall it destroyed the adjoining building, then used as a kitchen or cellar. There was a well there, which was filled up with the rubbish, and what was, apparently, a dungeon, under the basement floor of the tower, was also filled up. It is, I understand, of circular form, with two arched doorways, one on the north side, towards the church—the other, apparently communicating with the other tower by a passage under the entrance court.

assembling of the court leet of the manor, at stated times each year. One tower, with the adjoining rooms, is occupied; the other is untenanted, and unfit for a residence, from the imperfect state of the roof and its southern gable.

To the laudable aims and efforts of our Archæological Societies may, we trust, be owing the preservation of our ancient buildings; as examples of the constructive ability of our forefathers they are interesting. Each building has its history, illustrating the manners and customs of a past age; and while we may congratulate ourselves that many of our ancient castles are no longer needed for warlike purposes, let them stand if only as an evidence of the happier times in which our lot, as Englishmen, is cast.

In summing up this paper, I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance and advice which I have received from Sir John Maclean, and Sir Wm. Guise, as well as from J. H. Cooke, Esq., of Berkeley Castle, and from Mr. W. Taprell Allen, who has enabled me to give a few illustrations of certain details of the Castle.

APPENDIX A.

The following are lists of the Constables and Deputy Constables of St. Briavel's, so far as they can be ascertained :—

CONSTABLES.

A.D. 1131,	MILO FITZ-WALTER.
temp. John.	HENRY DE BOHUN.
1207.	HUGH DE NEVILL.
1216.	JOHN DE MONMOUTH.
1224.	ROGER DE CLIFFORD.
1226-1232.	HUGH DE KINNARDELEY.[1]
1249.	PETER CHACEPORE,[2] died at Boulogne, 1255.
1256.	JAMES FREYSIL.

[1] Mr. Wakeman (Antiq. Excurs.) says that Hugh de Kinnardeley was associated with Roger de Clifford, as Joint Constable, and Warden of Dean Forest.

[2] Abbr. Rot. Orig: Exchequer, Ro. 4.

In the 34th Henry III., an inquisition was held as to the advantage to the King if he held the Forest in his own hands.

1261. John Gifford.
1262. Will. Bland.
1263. William Wither.
1270. Thomas,[1] brother to Gilbert, the Red Earl of Gloucester.
1274. Philip Wyther.
1276. Ralph de Sandwico,[2] Robert Walerand,[3] Roger Mortimer, Thomas de Clare.
1277. Walter Snappe.
1282. William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Grimbald Pauncefoot.[4]
1287. Willliam de Hatheway, at a rental of £160, Robert de Sapy.
1291. John Botetourle, or John de Botetourt.[5]
1293. Thomas de Everty.
1301. Ralph de Abbenhall.
1307. John de Haulo.
1311. John de Wysham.
1312. John de Annesley.
1322. Simon de Dryby.
1325. John de Mynors.
1327. John de Hardreshull, Gilbert Talbot.[6]
1331. Robert de Sapy.

[1] Appointed by Simon de Montfort, after the Battle of Lewes (Grose. Ant.)

[2] By a deed dated June 3rd, 1282, 200 acres of Noxton Park were granted to Ralph de Sandwich at a rental of 50s. 6d.

[3] Robert Walerand held the castle at a fee farm rent of £140 per ann.

[4] "When Grimbald de Pauncefoot was Constable, a noted deer stealer, William Fitz.-Walter de Blakeneye," who had often been caught and imprisoned, broke out of the castle and continued his depredations. He was retaken and summarily beheaded. (Nicholls' Person. of the Forest of Dean, p. 19.)

[5] John de Botetourt was a descendant of Ansfrid de Botetourt, *temp.* Henry II. He was soon displaced, but restored 1st Edward II. (Grose's Ant., vol. II., p. 146.)

Almeric de St. Armand was Constable of the Castle, Warden of the Forest of Dean, Governor of Hereford Castle, and High Sheriff of the County, *temp.* Edward I. (Ibid.)

[6] Gilbert Talbot was summoned to Parliament, 14th Edward III. (Cotton).

1336. GUIDO DE BRYAN.
1390. RICHARD II., granted the Castle to the Duke of Gloucester.
1396. JOHN of Gloucester succeeded.
1399. JOHN, Duke of Bedford.
HUGH WATERTON, Chevalier.
1435. JACQUELINE DE LUXEMBOURG.
1440. RALPH BOTILLER[1] and JOHN BEAUCHAMP, ESQ
1450. HENRY, Duke of Warwick, at a rental of £160.
1467. WILLIAM LORD HERBERT.
RICHARD NEVILL, Earl of Warwick.[2]
1471. JAMES AND ROGER HYET.
1483. RICHARD WILLIAMS and THOMAS BAYNAM.
Ric. III. GILES BRUGGE,[3] with an annuity of £66 13s. 4d.
1485. ANNE DE BEAUCHAMP.
1498-9. THOMAS BAYNHAM and CRISTOFER BAYNHAM,[4] ESQ.
1557. WILLIAM, Earl of Pembroke.[5]
SIR GEORGE BAYNHAM.
1585. HENRY, LORD HERBERT, of Cardiff.
SIR EDWARD WINTER, who resigned in favour of
1611. WILLIAM, Earl of Pembroke.
1635. PHILIP HERBERT, Earl of Pembroke
1658. JOHN, LORD DISBROW.[6]

[1] Ralph de Botiller, of Suly or Sudly, Knt, was summoned to Parliament, 20th Henry VI. (Cotton).

[2] Warwick's precedency was challenged by the Earl Marshall (Cotton's Records, edit., 1657, pp. 574-577).

[3] Harl. MSS. No. 453, fol. 464.

[4] They held the custody of the castle and demesne lands for a term of 30 years at £50 per an. (Personal. Forest of Dean p. 27.)

[5] General of the forces, sent by the Queen to assist her husband Philip of Spain, against the town of St. Quintin (Ibid.)

[6] John Desborough rose to be Major-General in Cromwell's army, and married Ann, the Protector's sister. He was a member of the Council of State, and was appointed one of Cromwell's "other house," with the title of "Lord." He was appointed by Richard Cromwell, under Letters Patent, dated 20th Dec., 1658, Constable of the Castle of St. Briavel's, and Keeper of the Deer and Game in the Forest of Dean.—ED.

1660. Henry, Lord Herbert of Raglan.[1]
1698. Charles, Viscount Dursley.
1702. Charles, Earl of Berkeley.[2]
1710. James, Earl of Berkeley.[3]
1736. Augustus, Earl of Berkeley.
1755. Norborne Berkeley, of Stoke Gifford.[4]
1766. Frederick Augustus, 5th Earl of Berkeley.
1810. Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort.
1838. Office absorbed in Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests by Act of Parliament.

DEPUTY CONSTABLES.[5]

1256-7. Hubert de Winterbourn.
54th Henry III. Robert de Walys.
Richard de Liketon.
John Gifford.
Richard de Heveneburg.
Galf. de Doynton.
1276. Walter de Snape.
1282. William le Bland.
1339. John Jose.
1448. John Esshehurst, by Patent.
1557. Richard Brayne.
1611. Sir Richard Montague.
William Winter and Roger Myners, Esqrs.
1638. James Kyrle.
1660. Sir Baynham Throgmorton.
Sir George Probert.
1690. Henry Milborne, Esq.
William Wolseley, Esq.

[1] Henry Lord Herbert of Raglan, afterwards (1682) Duke of Beaufort, was disgraced. The Castle had been granted to him for life, with a fee of £40 a year (Grose). He defended Bristol against the Duke of Monmouth, in 1685 (Atkyn's,) and was buried at Windsor, in St. George's Chapel.

[2] Called to the House of Peers in his father's life-time.

[3] 2nd son of the above. He served under Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and became Vice-Admiral of England.

[4] He became Baron Botetourt. [5] Bigland, Nicholls, and Grose.

	TRACY CATCHMAY (of Bigsweir), ESQ.
1692.	JOHN HIGFORD, ESQ.
	GEORGE BOND, ESQ.
1702-10.	SERGEANT POWLETT
	ROYNON JONES, ESQ.
1710-36.	RICHARD MACHEN, ESQ.
	WILLIAM JAMES (of Soilwell), ESQ.
	MAYNARD COLCHESTER, ESQ.
1736-55.	WILLIAM JONES, ESQ.
	THOMAS JAMES, ESQ.
	TOMPKINS MACHEN, ESQ. (1741)

ADDENDUM.

The following Notes will be read with interest in connection with Lanthony Abbey, as well as with Milo Fitz Walter, the probable builder of the Castle of St. Briavels. They were communicated to the "Transactions of the British Archæological Association at the third Annual Congress, held at Gloucester, in 1846," by the Rev. LAMBERT B. LARKING, the eminent Kentish Antiquary, under the following title:

NOTES ON THE MONUMENTS IN LANTONY PRIORY, FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE SURRENDEN COLLECTION.

The following is transcribed from a thin folio paper manuscript book, in the Collection of Sir Edward Dering. The book consists of a Miscellaneous collection of similar records, burials in monasteries, pedigrees, church notes, etc., and seems to have been a sort of common-place book, in which are entered different notes picked up out of old monastic registers, cartularies, etc.,—of which monuments Sir Edward was an enthusiastic collector; and he lived at a time when they were scattered about—easy of acquisition. The following notes were probably transcribed from some such registers; whether they have ever been printed, or the original be still in existence, I know not.

THE NAMES OF THE FFOUNDERS OF THE CHURCH OF OUR BLESSED LADY IN LANTHONY, WHICHE AR DEPARTID *(sic.)* THER.

Milo, the ffounder of the chyrch of our blessid Ladi of Lanthony w^th^oute Gloucester, Erle of Hereford, Lord of Brecon, and of all the fforest of Done (Dene), and also Constable of Englond, lyithe honorably in the middist of his Chapter-house of Lanthon aforseid.

At the head of the seade Milo are buried three of his sonnes,—Roger, that is to sey his first begotten sonne, Erle of Hereford, Lord of Bricone, and of the forest of Done, also Constable of England,—in the myddill.

And nighe unto hym, on the right hond, lyithe Henry, hys Brother, Lord of Bricone, and of the Forest of Dene, and also Constable of Englonde.

And of the left hand, lyithe Michell, lord of Bricone and of the fforest of Done, and also Constable of Englonde.

Nyghe to Milo, the ffounder, of his ryght hand, and at foote of the seid Henri, lyithe Sibbil, wiff of the seid Milo, which, after the deth of the seid Milo, did entre into Religion in the house of the seid Lanthon.

On the ryghte hand of the seid Sibbil, lyith the right worshipfull matron of Lanthon, ladi Margaret, the furst begottin doughter of the seid Milo, whiche was maried to humfre of Bohun, whiche had the erledom of Hartford, and Constableshipe of Englonde, and lithen buried at the fote of the seid Sibbil.

Of the over honde, lithen Luce, the thyrd doughter of the seid Milo Erle.

Nyghe unto the veri foundre, Milo, on his left honde, and at the fote of the foreseid Michell, lithen Humfre of Bohun, the iiijth, sonne and heire of the forseid Margaret, Erle of Hereford, and Constable of Englond.

Nyghe to Humfre the iiijth, and of his left honde, lithen Henri of Bohun, sonne and heire of the forseid Margaret, Erle of Hereford, Essex, and Constable of Englond.

At the fote of the seid Humfre, the iiijth, lythen Maude, Doughter of the Erle of Ewes, in Normanni, first wiff of the seid Humfre of Bohun.

At the fote of the seid Maude, lithin Elionor of Brewis, Ladi and heire of the land of Bricon.

At the head of Earl Roger aforeseid, sonne of Milo, a littill within the the Chapter-howse dore, lithen Robert Braci, Prior of the Church of Lanthoni, the first.

Nyghe unto the forseid Robert, of hys right hond, lithen the Ladi Alice of Tonny,[1] dougher of Humfre of Bohun the Vth

And nyghe to the forseid Robert the Prior, of his left hond, lithin Henri of Bohun, Knight, sonne and heire of the Erle foreseid, and Brother of Humfre the Vth

At the fote of the seid Sibbill, nyghe vnto Henry, lithen Humfre of Bohun the ixth, sonne of Humfre of Bohun the viijth

In the middill of the Quier before the hye alter, lithen Humfre of Bohun, he second lord, Earle of Hereford and Essex, lord of Bricon, and Constable of Englond.

Nyghe unto hym, of the left hond, lithen Maude of Avenbury Counte, wiffe of the seid Humfre the second.

Of their sowles, and all cristen, our Lord have merci upon. Amen.—

Whether or not Milo de Gloucester was the builder of the Castle of St. Briavels would seem to be uncertain. Milo was the son of Walter, Con-

1 She was the first wife of Roger de Tony, of Flamstead, &c. Mar. Contract dated 23rd Henry III. (1239). He died 1265. Inq. p. m., 45th Henry III. No. 28. See Ped. of Tony, Hist. of Trigg Minor, Vol. I., p. 65.

stable of England, who is said to have built the Castle of Gloucester upon his own demesne lands, and to have built also the Castles of Bristol, Rochester, and the Tower of London,[1] a man of great power and influence, at first with Henry I., afterwards with Stephen, and subsequently with the Empress Maud. Henry I., in 1121, granted him in marriage Sibella, the daughter and heir of Bernard de Newmarch, Lord of Brecknock.[2] On the arrival in England of Maud, he abandoned the cause of Stephen, and, together with Robert, Earl of Gloucester, her brother, adopted that of the Empress. It is stated by Dugdale[3] that in the 4th Stephen (1139), when Milo received the Empress in his Castle of Gloucester she bestowed upon him the Castle of St. Briavells and the whole Forest of Dene, and that in 1141, upon the capture of King Stephen at Lincoln, by charter dated at Oxford, on the feast of St. James the Apostle, she created Milo Earl of Hereford, and gave him the Moat and Castle of Hereford, to hold to him and his heirs; and that in the same year she granted him the Castle and Honour of Abergavenny,[4] and many other honours and lands.[5]

Milo died on Christmas Eve, 1143, leaving, by his wife, Sybil, five sons, Roger, Walter, Henry, Mahel, and William who died s.p. in the life-time of his brother Henry; and also three daughters, of whom Margaret married Humphrey de Bohun; Berta, Philipp de Braose; and Lucy, Herbert Fitz Herbert.[6]

It would appear from Dugdale's statement that the Castle of St. Briavel's existed at the time the Forest of Dean was granted to Milo, and, consequently, if Milo were the builder it must have been erected in the reign of Henry I., and for that king.

Of course the grant of the Earldom made by Maud was not recognized by Stephen when he regained his authority, and probably the grant of St. Briavel's Castle and the Forest of Dean was treated in the same manner. Dugdale states that Roger succeeded his father to the Earldom. In one sense this was so, for the Charter of the Empress was confirmed to him, after his father's death, in 1143, by Henry II. It would seem, however, to be clear from the charter of the last mentioned king, granting to Roger, Earl of Hereford, all the fee of Milo his father, and all the fee of Bernard Newmarch that the Forest was then in the king's hands for he granted to Roger all the lordships which the King's grandfather, Henry I., held "inter Sabrinam et Waye, in Gloucestrisire, excepto castello de Sancto Briavello et villa de Neweham, et foresta de Dene."[7] Roger is stated in the peerages to have died in 1154 (1 Henry II.) but this is inaccurate, for he was alive in March, 1155, and described as Earl of Hereford, and it is stated that though previously disaffected, he placed his Castles at Gloucester and

1 Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I., p. 357.

2 Charters of the Duchy of Lanc., Deputy Keeper's Report, No. 31, p. 2.

3 Baronage, Vol. II., p. 537. The authority quoted by Dugdale is the Great Register of the Duchy of Lancaster. This Register is now in the Public Record Office, and consists of two Volumes known as "The Great Cowchers," but no such grant can be found therein. It is, however, supposed that there was formerly a third volume, but of which there is no certain record.

4 Charters of the Duchy of Lanc.—Dy. Keeper's Report 31, p. 2.

5 Dug. Bar., Vol. I, , p. 537.

6 Banks' Baronage, Vol. III., p. 354. Dugdale, Vol. I., p. 357.

7 Carte Regis, Hen. II. Appendix II., to the Reports on the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm, 1829.

Hereford at the disposal of the King.[1] He also attested a charter to Mereval Abbey, on 7th July following,[2] and another in favour of the borough of Wilton, between the latter date and September,[3] but we do not find him mentioned afterwards. He married Cecilia, daughter of Pain Fitz John, and died s.p.

On the death of Roger, his surviving brothers are stated to have succeeded to his inheritance, though Henry II. retained the Earldom in his own hands.[4]

Walter de Hereford, brother of Roger, was Sheriff of Gloucester, in 23rd Henry II., and he attested a charter to Woburn Abbey on 2nd Feb., 1156,[5] and Matthew de Hereford, supposed to be the same as Mahel or Michel, was present at the Council of Clarendon, in January, 1164.[6] We do not know the date of the death of either, but we find that in 1175, William de Braose, junior, slaughtered a host of unarmed Welshmen in Abergavenny Castle, in revenge for the murder of his uncle, Henry de Hereford.[7] It will be noticed that in neither case is Walter, Matthew, or Henry, described as Earl of Hereford, which confirms the statement of Dugdale, and agrees with the document under notice, though there is no evidence that the sons of Milo held the lordship of the Forest of Dean. Nicholls states[8] that the Royal quit-rents of the Forest were, in 5th Stephen, granted to Lucy, 3rd daughter of Milo, upon her marriage with Herbert Fitz Herbert, and that the Fitz Herbert interest was released by Henry de Bohun to King John.[9] He quotes no authority for these statements, and we have been unable to verify them, and inasmuch as Herbert Fitz Herbert had issue by his wife Lucy, we see not how Henry de Bohun, grandson of her sister Margaret, could have inherited her lands; and it is said by Dugdale,[10] citing an old MS. which, in 1640, was in the possession of Sir Hamon le Strange, of Hunstanton, Knt., that for some transgression Herbert granted and quit-claimed the whole Forest of Dene to Henry II. Henry de Bohun is shewn as Constable of the Castle in the foregoing list (p. 360).

The early History of the Forest is an obscure page of Gloucestershire history which deserves to be cleared up.—Ed.

1 Itinerary., Hen. II., p. 9. 2 Ibid., p. 11. 3 Ibid., p. 12. 4 Dugdale's Baron., vol. I., p. 17. 5 Itinerary Henry II., p. 17. 6 Ibid, 67. 7 Ibid., p. 191. 8 Forest of Dean, p. 8. 9 Ibid., p. 10. 10 Monasticon Ang., Vol. I., p. 557.

THE EARLS OF GLOUCESTER,

By REV. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A.

Read at Gloucester, 5th Feb., 1879.

BEFORE I proceed to give some account of the Norman Earls of Gloucester, I shall briefly refer to some who had previously held the Honour, if not the Earldom, of Gloucester.

ELDOL, CONSUL OF GLOUCESTER.

The following inscription was to be seen, before the late restoration of Gloucester Cathedral, above the Bishop's throne :—

EDEL DUX
ELDADVS EPS GLOUC,
ELDO MAIOR
A. 490.

Dugdale does not hesitate to call Eldol the first Earl.[1] This is not literally correct, as Eldol was a British hero, and the title of Earl is distinctly Saxon. Matthew of Westminster is my authority for the legend of Eldol. He probably copied it, with some additions of his own, from some old British Chronicle.

In the year of our Lord 461 the Jutes under Hengest were over-running the fair province of Kent. The British King, Vortimer, was dead, and his uncle, Vortigern, was restored to the throne. At the instigation of Hengest a meeting of the two leaders took place at Ambresbury. Vortigern and his nobles, all unarmed as they were, were attacked by the Saxons, with their long knives, and perfidiously slain. Eldol, the Consul of Gloucester, alone escaped. He seized a hedge stake that was lying by and rushed upon the assassins with superhuman strength. Seventy

[1] Baronage of England, Edn. London, 1675, p. 1.

were slain and many more were wounded. Then he fled and sought refuge in his own city.[1]

Again, in the year 489, there was a battle between Aurelius Ambrosius and Hengest, by the river Don. Eldol, eager for revenge, forced his way through the Saxon host, and taking hold of their leader by the nasal guard of his helmet,[2] brought him a prisoner to the British lines; whereupon the Saxons fled. After this there was a meeting of the British chieftains to decide the fate of their captive. Many were inclined to spare him, but Eldad, Bishop of Gloucester, and a brother of Eldol, stood up and protested against such weakness. Though all the rest were anxious for Hengest's safety, he would hew him in pieces, as Samuel hewed Agag, before the altar. Eldol reserved the pleasant task for himself. He took Hengest outside the city and cut off his head.[3] It is further related of Eldol that he raised a monument to Vortigern and his nobles, at Ambresbury, and that he presided at a great British feast which was held at Stonehenge.

SWEGEN, Earl of Gloucester.

We now pass over an interval of five centuries, and find ourselves in the last days of Saxon rule.

Swegen was the eldest son of the famous Godwine, Earl of Kent, and father-in-law of Edward the Confessor. His mother was Gytha, sister of Swegen, King of Denmark. It is the fashion of the day to whitewash the Villain of History; Swegen is beyond me, if I cared to undertake the task. He was a traitor to his king, and a disgrace to his kinsfolk. Nothing short of the crown of England lay within his grasp, but he preferred the life of a pirate and a freebooter.

During the early part of Edward the Confessor's reign, England was really governed by its three great Earls, Siward, of Northumbria, Leofric, of Mercia, and Godwine, of Wessex. As time went

[1] Flores Historiarum, Edn. London, 1570, p. 159.

[2] The nasal guard first appears in the armour of the tenth century.

[3] Matt. West. Flor. Hist., p. 174.

on Godwine seized province after province for his own house. Swegen became Earl of Oxford, Hefeford, Somerset, Berkshire, and finally of Gloucester. In 1044, Swegen shared his father's exile from the English court, and he returned in 1046, to incur the wrath of the king and clergy, by the abduction of Edgiva, the Abbess of Leominster.[1] He fled from the realm and took refuge in Denmark. Godwine's influence secured his pardon; and Swegen, on his way to seek it, murdered his cousin Beorn.[2] A storm of national indignation followed him to Flanders. He was branded by the Witena-Gemot as a "Nithing," *i.e.*, utterly worthless;[3] yet the Bishop of Worcester, at the instigation of Godwine, was able to procure a second pardon for him from the king, and he was restored to his earldom. A few years later a quarrel between some burghers of Dover and the attendants of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, forced Godwine and his sons into rebellion against their king. Edward the Confessor was at this time holding a Witena-Gemot, at Gloucester, and thither Eustace came to lay his complaint. Godwine advanced as far as Beverstone with a large army, that he and his sons, Swegen and Harold, had drawn from their respective provinces, and haughtily demanded the person of Eustace. The king, supported by Earls Siward and Leofric, as firmly refused. It was probably at this time that the name of "Castle Godwine" was given to the ancient ramparts on Painswick Hill. If so, the two armies must have been closer together than is generally supposed. By the advice of Leofric, there was an interchange of hostages, and civil war was happily averted. A Witena-Gemot was summoned at London, and Godwine and his sons were commanded to appear. Godwine, finding that he would be without support from the other nobles, fled to Bruges, and Swegen was again outlawed. Harold and Leofwine went to Bristol and sailed from Avonmouth for Ireland.[4]

The family of Godwine was now disgraced, and the English Court was crowded with Norman suitors. A reaction soon set in against the foreigners. Godwine and his sons invaded the country,

[1] Ang.-Sax. Chr., A.D. 1046. [2] Id., A.D. 1046. [3] Id., 1049.
[4] Id., A.D., 1051-2.

and demanded to be restored to their family possessions and privileges. They advanced to Southwark, and the Normans fled. A Witena-gemot was held in London, and all Godwine's family, except Swegen, were restored to their honours. Swegen's conscience struck him for his foul crimes, and he sought to appease the Divine anger by a journey to the Holy City. He died on his way home, at Constantinople, in 1053.[1]

BRICHTRIC, Lord of the Honour of Gloucester.

Brichtric was the son of Algar and Algive, and the grandson of Ayleward Snewe, the founder of Cranburne Abbey. Brichtric had been sent as ambassador from England to the Court of Flanders, where his noble figure proved his ruin. Matilda, the daughter of the Count, fell in love with the young Saxon, and offered him her hand and fortune. Brichtric declined the honour, and won the undying hatred of his future queen.

> "Meis Brictrich Maude refusa,
> Dunt ele mult se coruça."—*Le Brut.*

When England lay beneath the conqueror's feet Matilda had her revenge. Brichtric was seized at Hanley Castle, sent a prisoner to Winchester, and dispossessed of his vast inheritance. William I. bestowed the Honour of Gloucester on Matilda. At her death in 1083, it passed to William Rufus, who, in 1087, bestowed it on Robert Fitz Hamon.

ROBERT FITZ HAMON, Lord of the Honour of Gloucester.

Foremost amongst the Conqueror's nobles was his kinsman, Robert Fitz Hamon, son of Hamo Dentatus, who distinguished himself in a personal encounter with the King of France at Val-è-Dunes, and brother of Hamo Dapifer, who died in the reign of Henry I.[2] He crossed over with William and fought at Hastings, but returned to take command of the Duke's forces in Normandy.

[1] Ang.-Sax. Chr., A.D. 1052.

[2] Dugdale's Baronage of England, vol. I., p. 406. Chron. de Normandie in Rer. Gall. Scrip. XII., 628; XIII., 206, 248, 250-1; XV., 64. Arch. Journal, vol. XXXIV., No. 133, p. 19.

His title at this time appears to have been Lord of Thorigny and Creully. In the year 1091, Jestyn ap Gwrgan, Lord of Glamorgan, having been defeated by Rhys ap Twdwr, Lord of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke, applied for help to the Norman Barons. Fitz Hamon readily consented to render it on certain conditions. Twelve knights of distinction joined him with a large body of retainers. Rhys ap Twdwr met the combined forces of Fitz Hamon and Jestyn at Bryn-y-beddau, near Hirwaun, on the borders of Brecknoc, was defeated and slain. The conquerors then turned their arms against one another. Jestyn perished in the first encounter, and Fitz Hamon took possession of the province of Glamorgan. To each of his twelve companions he gave a part of the conquered territory. For himself he retained Cardiff, Cowbridge, Kenfygg, and the chief lordship of the whole. On the death of William Rufus, Fitz Hamon joined the party of Henry, in opposition to the claims of Duke Robert. He married Sybil, daughter of Roger de Montgomery and sister to Robert de Belesme. At her instance and at Gerald's, Abbot of Cranburne, he re-built the Priory Church of Tewkesbury, and endowed it with vast possessions. "It cannot," says William of Malmesbury, "be easily reported how highly Robert Fitz Hamon exalted this monastery, wherein the beauty of the building ravished the eyes, and the charity of the monks allured the hearts of such folk as used to come thither.[1]" The lofty receding arch at the western end of the present church, and the massive Norman tower are relics of Fitz Hamon's munificence. At Gerald's request, Tewkesbury was raised to an Abbey, and Cranburne was made a cell in dependance on it. Amongst the endowments of the new abbey were Fitz Hamon's gifts of certain lands and tithes in Cardiff, a fishery and village on the Taff, and the tythes held by Fitz Hamon's barons in Wales.[2] To the monks of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, Fitz Hamon gave the Church of St. Cadoc, at Lancarvan, and fifteen hides of land at Penham.[3]

[1] Gul. Malm., Lib. v. Master of Rolls. Ser., p. 235.

[2] Arch. Jour., vol. xxxv., No. 137, p. 2.

[3] Hist. et Cart. S. Petri, Glouc., Master o Rolls Ser., vol. I., p. 93.

Two towers of the present Castle of Cardiff are part of the noble structure of Fitz Hamon, which called forth the admiration of Giraldus Cambrensis in 1188,[1] and, although a ruin, was the wonder of Leland. Fitz Hamon and his successors lived at Cardiff with little less than regal splendour. To each of the twelve knights, who helped him to win Glamorganshire, certain apartments were allotted in the castle; and each in turn was captain of the guard. Fitz Hamon was with Henry I. at the battle of Tinchbrai, in 1106. A spear wound at the siege of Falcize drove him mad, and he died in March, 1107. His body was brought to England, and buried in the Chapter House of Tewkesbury. In 1241, Robert, the third abbot of that name, removed the bones to a tomb which he had constructed for them between two pillars on the south side of the choir. A hundred-and fifty years later, Thomas Parker, the eighteenth abbot, raised a chapel of carved stone above Fitz Hamon's new resting place, and ordered a mass to be sung there daily for the repose of his soul. The inscription on the tomb was "Hic jacet Dominus Robertus, filius Hamonis, hujus loci fundator." Fitz Hamon left four daughters, Mabel, Hawise, Cecile, and Amice, co-heiresses. Henry I. was unwilling that the English and Welsh possessions of Fitz Hamon should be divided. Hawise was made Abbess of Winchester, and Cecile Abbess of Shaftesbury. He gave Amice, with some of Fitz Hamon's Norman possessions, to the Earl of Brittany. Mabel, he reserved for his illegitimate son, Robert, of Caen.

ROBERT, Earl of Gloucester.

Henry Beauclerc, some years before he mounted the throne of England, had wooed and won Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Twdwr and Gwladus, his consort. It seems not unlikely that she came to England a prisoner, in the retinue of Robert Fitz Hamon, after the defeat of her father in 1091. Robert, the son of Henry and Nest, was born at Caen within the last decade of the eleventh century. We are told that the young Robert gave early proofs of military genius and of a taste for literature. As he grew to

[1] Hoare's Gir. Cam., vol. I., p. 126.

manhood, William of Malmesbury tells us, his father depended on him in time of war and delighted in his society in time of peace.[1]

His mother, Nest, returned to her Welsh home and became the wife, first of Gerald of Windsor, Constable of Pembroke, by whom she was the ancestress of the Earls of Kildare and the Carew family, and secondly, of Stephen, Constable of Aberteivy. The "Chronicles of the Princes" tell us how she and her children, were carried off by Owain, in 1106. About the year 1115, King Henry proposed to his ward,[2] Mabel Fitz Hamon, that she should become the bride of Robert of Caen. But the lady, with all the conscious dignity of noble birth, and the possession of a princely domain, was not prepared to accept a nameless suitor, though he were a King's son.

"Syre," heo seyde, "wel ychot, that youre herte up me ys,
More vor myn erytage than my sulne y wys
So vayr erytage, as ych abbe, yt were me gret ssame,
Vor to abbe an louerd, bote he adde an tuo name.
. . . . . .
"Damaysele," quath the Kyng, thou seyst wel in thys cas,
Syre Roberd le Fytz Haym thy fadere's name was.
And as vayr name he ssal abbe yyf me hym may byse,
Syre Roberd Fitz le Roy hys name ssal be,.....
. . . . . .
Damaysele, he seyde tho, thy louerd ssal abbe an name
Vor hym & vor hys eyrs vayr wyth out blame.
Vor Roberd, Erl of Gloucester hys name ssal be & ys;
Vor he ssal be Erl of Gloucester and hys eyrs ywys."
"Syre," quath the mayde tho, "wel lyketh me thys
In thys fourme ycholle, that al my thyng be hys.[3]

She was as good as her word; and Robert was created Earl of Gloucester.

Few married lives have been commenced under more brilliant auspices. In those early days of English History, the stain of

[1] W. of Malmesbury, Hist. Nov., Edn. London, 1815., p. 542.

[2] Brut y Tywysogion, M. of R. Ser., p. 83.

[3] Robert of Gloucester, Edn. Oxford, 1724, vol. II., p. 431.

illegitimacy rested lightly. The Conqueror's mother is said to have been a farrier's daughter of Falaise. In Wales, where the standard of morality was shockingly low, it was no bar to the crown. In England, Earl Robert was looked upon as foremost amongst his peers; in South Wales he was regarded as a native Prince. But the possession of Fitz Hamon's strongholds and the Lordship of Glamorgan gave Robert an influence which did not depend on the chances of birth. The sons of English barons deemed it a privilege to act as pages and squires within the massive walls of Cardiff Castle. When the Earl and Countess were dwelling amongst the burghers of Bristol, on Newport meadow, hundreds of Welshmen would cross the Severn in their coracles, and ask for service as their retainers. Nor was it otherwise, when they kept state at Holme Castle, near Tewkesbury. They could look down from the eminence on which they dwelt and feel that the abbey, which was arising to perfection beneath them, was the creation of their own family, and one of the noblest in England.

In 1119 Earl Robert was with Henry I. at the Battle of Brenneville.[1]

In 1120 an event took place which shattered the happiness of the King, and was the precursor of a thousand woes to the nation. William, the Ætheling, Henry's only son born in wedlock, was drowned on his return from Normandy.[2]

Henry took a young wife, Adelais, daughter of Godfrey of Louvain. He hoped she would give him another heir to the throne; but she was childless.[3] Then he called his clergy and nobility around him and bade them swear allegiance to his daughter, Matilda, the widow of the Emperor, Henry V. First the Archbishop took the oath, as head of the Church, followed by the Bishops and mitred Abbots; then the King of Scotland, as head of the laity. There was a sharp dispute who next should take it. Robert, Earl of Gloucester, claimed the precedence as the King's son. Stephen of Blois, contested it as grandson of the Conqueror. Nor was the matter settled till the

[1] Ord. Vit., 854 A. [2] Flor. of Worc., An. 1120. [3] Ibid., 1121

nobles had weighed it in solemn council.[1] Stephen's claim was preferred, on account of his legitimate descent. This decision was not forgotton in the troubles of the next reign. Nor was it forgotten that Stephen had pledged his faith as a belted knight to support Matilda's claim. This oath of allegiance was repeated on the occasion of the Empress's marriage with Geoffrey of Anjou, and again in 1135, when she gave birth to the young Prince Henry.

In the year 1123 the Abbey of Tewkesbury was consecrated by Theulf, Bishop of Worcester, and four other Bishops, in the presence of Earl Robert and a vast concourse of the nobility and clergy.[2]

In 1126, Robert, Duke of Normandy, who had been languishing in prison since the Battle of Tinchbrai in 1106, was taken out of the hands of the Bishop of Salisbury and committed to the care of Earl Robert. It is commonly asserted that he was deprived of sight, by Henry's orders, in the first year of his captivity. Matthew Paris who wrote more than a century after this date, is the earliest authority for such a statement. No hint, however, of any such cruel act appears in the contemporary chronicles of William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntington. Henry seems to have made his brother's life as pleasant for him as was possible in the circumstances.[3] Robert's table was furnished with the most expensive viands, and buffoons were in constant attendance to divert his mind from his misfortunes. In contradiction to the story of his blindness, it is said that he composed a sonnet describing in glowing language the view from his prison windows. Whether it was in the Saxon Keep of Bristol, or Fitz Hamon's octagonal tower at Cardiff, Earl Robert seems to have treated his royal prisoner with much consideration and respect. The Duke of Normandy died in 1134. His body was brought to Gloucester and buried in the choir. His effigy, of Irish oak, may be seen in Botiler's Chapel. It was broken in pieces by the Puritans in

[1] W. of Malms., p. 550. [2] Annals of Tewkesbury, M. of R. Ser., vol. I., p. 45. [3] W. of Malms., p. 480.

1641 ; but it was carefully preserved and ultimately restored by Sir Humphry Tracy of Stanway.

It was during the latter years of King Henry's reign that Earl Robert rebuilt the Castle of Bristol, and gave every tenth stone to the monks of St. James' Priory for the Chapel of St. Mary.

In 1135 "God gave the King" (so wrote the Bishop of Rouen from Henry's death-bed) "the peace he loved."[1] It was most unfortunate for Matilda, and for England, that when the throne became vacant Earl Robert was away in Normandy. His influence would no doubt have secured the succession as the late King willed it. Earl Stephen appeared at the gates of London, supported by his brother, the all-powerful Bishop of Winchester. He was received by the citizens with uproarious welcome and proclaimed King. Henry had collected a vast treasure at Winchester which Stephen hastened to seize. With this he endeavoured to purchase the support of the nobility and people. His promises far exceeded his gifts.

Earl Robert saw that any open opposition on his part, or Matilda's, would make matters worse. He crossed over at the bidding of the new King, bringing with him the body of Henry I., which he buried with solemn state in Reading Abbey. He took an oath of allegiance to Stephen, stipulating that it should hold good only as long as the King preserved his rank entire and maintained his engagements to him.[2] Matilda possessed a friend, who was not only courageous but prudent. Earl Robert knew his man. Stephen would keep his promises only as long as it suited him to court the nation's favour. When he was strong enough to defy them, the church and people alike would feel his rapacious grasp. Then the Earl would be free. Meanwhile he could shape the course of events, and prepare for the struggle which he foresaw must come. There is no better record of those times than the "Gesta Stephani," written by a

[1] Green's History of the English People, vol. I., p. 151.

[2] W. of Malms., Hist. Nov.; Edn. London, 1815, 4to., p. 562.

servant and strong partisan of the king. The Earl of Gloucester is spoken of "as a man of tried ability and praiseworthy wisdom."[1] The chronicler goes on to say that on the death of King Henry, Robert "was recommended to seize the crown for himself, but he refused, asserting that it would be more honourable to obtain it for his sister, Matilda, than usurp it for himself."[2]

In 1136, Earl Robert signed his name as witness to the Charter from Oxford which surrendered the forests to the nobility, conferred the privileges they most coveted on the Clergy, and abolished the hateful tax called Danegeld.[3] Two risings of individual barons were quickly put down; and on the 11th of April, Stephen passed over into Normandy, to secure that Duchy against an attack from Anjou. The Earl of Gloucester quickly followed. The suspicions of Stephen were at length aroused; he began to perceive that Robert was only biding his time to dethrone him. William de Ipres, the captain of the king's mercenaries, laid an ambuscade for him on the way. Robert was warned of the danger and escaped.[4] At the end of the year Stephen returned to England, but Robert remained in Normandy.

Stephen held a council at Northampton, on the 10th of April, 1138; and on the 10th of May he entered Gloucester amidst the loyal acclamations of the people, who had gone out five miles to welcome him. He laid his royal ring on the high altar of St. Peter's Abbey, and bought it back the next day for fifty shillings. Milo conducted him with great honours to the old Saxon palace of Kingsholm, and the citizens swore allegiance.[5] Matilda's friends were not idle. Her uncle, David, King of Scotland, invaded England, and laid waste the country far and wide, north of the Humber.[6] Bristol, the richest city by far in the west, and second only in importance to the capital itself, raised the standard of rebellion. Its natural position gave it a strength which Robert had increased by every possible artifice. The city is thus described in the "Gesta Stephani:"—"A certain part of Gloucestershire is drawn out to

[1] Gesta Stephani Regis Anglorum. Edn. London, 1846, p. 8.
[2] Id., p. 8. [3] W. of Malms., p. 562. [4] Id., p. 562.
[5] Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1138. [6] A.D. 1139.

some distance, and extended in the shape of a tongue by two rivers (the Avon and the Froom), which flow past two of its sides, and meet in a wide expanse of water, where the land is little better than a swamp (Queen's Square). Here the city is built. Moreover, a strong and rapid tide, flowing night and day, forces the rivers on both sides of the city back upon themselves into a wide and deep sea. Thus a port is formed, capable of holding a thousand vessels in safety. By this, the city is nearly and so closely surrounded that it seems to float on the water and rise up from its banks. On the side which is more open to attack, a castle, raised on a high mound, and fortified with wall, battlements, towers, and various engines of war, makes the approach of assailants very difficult."[1]

"Bristol," says William, of Malmesbury, "was full of ships from Ireland, Norway, and every part of Europe, which brought hither a great commerce and much wealth."

Here was destined to be the life and centre of Matilda's cause during her long struggle with Stephen for the throne. In the eyes of Stephen's adherents "it was the volcano whence the kingdom was deluged with fire and sword."

An attack on Bath by the garrison of Bristol Castle brought that city into conflict with the king. Geoffrey Talbot, the leader of the assailants, was taken prisoner by Stephen's troops, and was only released on the Bristol men threatening that they would hang the Bishop of Bath, whom they had gotten into their power. Stephen, hearing of these proceedings, collected a large force, and marched towards Bristol. He knew that, if he could capture this city, the growing insurrection would be crushed in the bud. At Bath, Stephen had an interview with the Bishop, and blamed him for Geoffry Talbot's escape. He gave orders to strengthen the position of the city, with walls and bulwarks. The next day he drew up his forces before the gates of Bristol, and summoned his barons to a council of war. They were asked to advise him how best the city might be taken. Some pressed that a mole of stones, timber,

[1] Gesta. Step., p. 36.

and turf, should be thrown across the Avon, just below its juncture with the Frome, where it was narrowest. This would block up the harbour and flood the city. It would be well to erect two forts close to the bridges, to prevent any communication with the city from outside. Lastly, the castle should be closely beleaguered, and garrison starved into submission. Others disputed the utility of all this, urging that the river would swallow up any amount of stones, and the tides would wash the timber away. So the king gave up the idea of a siege, and contented himself with laying waste the surrounding country. The two castles of Carey and Harpetree belonged to the Earl of Gloucester. Stephen attacked and destroyed them.[1]

Robert, on the strength of this invasion of his Earldom, and destruction of his Castles, renounced his allegiance, and the revolt now became general.[2]

On September 30th, 1139, Earl Robert and his sister, Matilda, landed at Arundel, and were courteously received by Adeliza, their father's widow, who had married William de Albini, the Earl of Arundel and Sussex. After a rest of a few hours, Robert, attended by only twelve horsemen, set forth by night for Bristol. Half-way he was met by Brian Fitz Count, the Governor of Wallingford, and escorted to his destination. Stephen hastened to besiege Arundel Castle, and Matilda was doubtlessly in great danger. It seems hardly credible, but Stephen was prevailed upon by his brother, the Bishop of Winchester, to give her a safe conduct to Bristol. It is said that Robert had met the Bishop on his journey from Arundel, and persuaded him to secretly espouse Matilda's cause. In any case the Bishop's advice was most disastrous to the interests of Stephen. Matilda remained at Bristol until October 15th, when she took up her abode with Milo, at Gloucester.[3] The citizens who refused their allegiance were put to the torture, and "the city, glorious in past ages, became filled with direful howlings, shocking to those who dwelt within it."[4] A glance at the map of England will show us the strength of

[1] Gesta, Steph., pp. 42, 43. [2] W. of Malms. p. 566.
[3] W. of Malms., p. 576. [4] Flo. of Wor., 1139.

Robert and Matilda's position. The Earl was master of Bristol, and of all the ports on the south coast, from Wareham westward. The province under his control exceeded in extent the ancient Earldom of Wessex. A line of fortresses from Shrewsbury to Wilton secured his own position and threatened the capital. As far east as Wallingford he possessed a castle which was well nigh impregnable. The adherence of Milo added the best part of Herefordshire and Brecknockshire, and the adherence of Brian Fitz Count added all Monmouthshire to the territory under the Earl's influence. His own Lordship of Glamorgan, and his connexion, through his mother, Nest, with Rhys ap Twdwr, secured the Welshmen as his allies. The next year and a half were spent by both sides in sieges and petty encounters, a kind of warfare in which Stephen excelled. Thus the land was devastated, and no change took place in the position of the combatants.

Soon after Matilda's arrival at Gloucester we hear of Stephen placing a garrison at Cerney on his way to Malmesbury.[1] In November, 1139, Earl Robert set out from Gloucester, with a body of troops, captured the city of Worcester, and carried off many prisoners and much spoil. Stephen, who was at Oxford, hastily marched to Worcester, but only arrived in time to witness the destruction that had been accomplished. The next year Tewkesbury was attacked by the Earl of Gloucester, and Earl Robert's house was destroyed. Stephen marched against Wallingford, and was encountered and defeated by Milo, who thereupon recovered the Castles of Winchcomb, Cerney, and Hereford, which had fallen into the king's hands.[2] Thanks to the kind offices of the clergy, a meeting took place between the combatants at Bath. Earl Robert represented Matilda. The Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester, acted for Stephen. Nothing could be agreed upon, and civil war broke out again with renewed vigour.[3] The misery of the people was more awful than

[1] Gesta Stephani, p. 59.

There are traces of earthworks at South Cerney, near the river Churn. These are probably the remains of Milo's fortress.

[2] W. of Malms., p. 582. Gesta Steph., p. 61.

[3] W. of Malms., p. 584.

we can conceive. "The nobles filled the land with castles, and when they were built they filled them with devils and evil men." . . "They took the men whom they supposed to have any property, both by night and by day, males and females, and put them into prison for their gold and silver, and tormented them with unspeakable torments; for there were never martyrs so tormented as they were. They hung them by the feet, and smoked them with foul smoke. They put knotted strings about their heads, and twisted them till they went to their brains. They put them into dungeons, in which were adders, and snakes, and toads, and killed them thus. Some they put in a crucet house, that is, in a chest which was short, and narrow and shallow, and put sharp stones therein, and thrust the man therein, so that they broke all the limbs. In many of the castles were things loathly and grim; there were chains which two or three men had enough to do to bear one, which was thus made:—It was fastened to a beam, and they put a sharp iron about the man's throat and his neck, so that he could in no direction either sit, or lie, or sleep, but he must support all the iron. Many thousands they killed with hunger."[1] The mercenary troops which Stephen had brought into England, and the Welshmen who served the Earl desolated the land between them. Bristol became a mere stronghold of banditti. The dungeons of Robert's new Castle were full of wretched men and women, who were tortured until their friends and relations gave up all they possessed to ransom them.

On the 2nd of February, 1141, was fought the first pitched battle of the civil war. Ranulph, Earl of Chester, was the most powerful of Stephen's adherents, for he owned nearly one third of the kingdom. A dispute arose between him and Stephen, and the king attacked him in his Castle of Lincoln. One dark night the Earl passed through the lines of the besiegers, and fled into Cheshire to raise troops for the relief of his Countess. Earl Robert received a message that if he would come to the rescue, the Earl of Chester would thenceforth be on Matilda's side. There was every inducement to do so, for Ranulph's Countess

[1] Ang.-Sax. Chr., 1137.

was Robert's daughter, Matilda. He hastily collected such forces as were available, and set forth from Gloucester, marching day and night till he reached Lincoln. The Earl of Chester joined with him on the way, with a body of troops. They were not an hour too soon, for the garrison was sore pressed. Between the opposing armies lay the river Trent, swollen by the winter rains into a deep and wide stream. The Earls plunged in, followed by their men, and reached the other side in safety. Stephen had drawn up his army in three divisions. The Earls of Norfolk and Richmond commanded on the right, and William de Ipres on the left. The king himself was on foot at the head of the centre. Earl Robert made a similar disposition. The Earl of Chester's men, flanked by a body of Welshmen, were posted on the left. The right wing was wholly composed of barons and knights, whom Stephen had dispossessed of their honours and lands. Earl Robert was opposed to the king, and longed for nothing better than the chance of a personal encounter. The battle commenced with a fierce attack by the two wings of Robert's army. Casting away their tilting lances, the disinherited nobles fell upon the foe, sword in hand. On either flank the royal troops were defeated and dispersed, but the centre remained unbroken. The battle now resembled Hastings. The king's phalanx, like Harold's, was assaulted at once by horse and foot. Stephen again and again beat back the foe, and performed prodigies of valour. First his battle-axe and then his sword broke with the frequency of his blows. Nor, when the phalanx was broken through, and he was surrounded by a dozen foes, would he deign, although wounded, to surrender to anyone, except his cousin, Robert, Earl of Gloucester.[1]

Stephen was now a prisoner, and Matilda had the satisfaction of feasting her eyes on her fallen foe at Gloucester, on the 9th of February. They met in the old Castle, with mutual recriminations. Matilda set out for Winchester, to be crowned Queen, and Stephen was conveyed in fetters to Bristol.[2] Matilda's

[1] W., of Malms., p. 587. Gesta Steph., p. 70.

[2] W., of Malms, 588. Gest. Steph., p. 72.

prospects were now of the brightest. In Kent, indeed, Stephen's Queen held her own with a small body of English and foreign troops. All the rest of England lay at Matilda's feet. The clergy, with the Bishop of Winchester at their head, acknowledged her claim to the throne, and offered their allegiance. The citizens of London for the time bowed their heads to the storm. Nothing but Matilda's insolent pride and insatiable greed could have recalled Stephen to the throne. Men were tired enough of civil war, and would gladly have obeyed her, as their Queen, if she had conducted herself with any degree of moderation. It is said that her behaviour to Robert, and to her new ally, the Bishop of Winchester, was arrogant and disdainful. She cancelled many of the privileges which the citizens of London had hitherto enjoyed, and grieved them with heavy exactions. It was more than they could endure from anyone, above all from a woman. On the eve of her coronation, at Westminster, they rose to arms and drove her from their city.[1] She fled to Oxford and from thence to Gloucester. She insisted that Stephen's imprisonment should be made more rigorous; and Milo was forced to obey. Henceforth chains and fetters oppressed the unhappy King. This rendered her more unpopular than ever. When the people were told that their sovereign was in irons they forgot his faults.

Matilda had reasons for doubting the good faith of the Bishop of Winchester, and demanded the surrender of his castle. Earl Robert implored her to forbear, but in vain. She attempted a surprise, was defeated and compelled to retire.[2] Stephen's Queen had now collected a considerable force and was able to take the field against her husband's rival. Matilda would have been taken prisoner in her retreat from Winchester but for the self-denying courage of her brother. He sent her away early in the morning under the care of Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, and David, King of Scotland, and bade them make all haste to escort her to Gloucester, whilst he with a chosen body of troops, followed slowly in the rear and endeavoured to cover the retreat. He was quickly pursued and attacked by the troops of the Bishop and the Queen.

[1] W. of Malms, 594. Gest. Steph., p. 78. [2] Id., p. 80.

For hours he disputed the passage of the river Test at Stockbridge, but was at length overpowered and surrounded. Having thus fallen into the hands of the enemy he was sent a prisoner to the Castle of Rochester. Matilda fled to Luggershall, and thence on horseback, in male attire, to Devizes. The rest of the journey to Gloucester she performed in a bier, as a dead corpse.[1] Doubtless she was overcome with chagrin and fatigue. The King of Scotland was overtaken and captured, but secured his liberty with a heavy bribe. The archbishop of Canterbury lost his horse and companions, and had a narrow escape.[2]

A proposal was made to exchange the Earl for the King. Robert alone resisted the overtures. They were flattering to his dignity and conducive to his ease, but they were opposed to Matilda's interests. His protests were unheeded, and the exchange took place. Every attempt was made, during Robert's imprisonment at Rochester, to detach him from his sister's cause, but his fidelity was unshaken. Neither her insolence nor her folly could make him untrue to the oath he had taken, in the presence of his father. Thus the two sides recovered their leaders, and the civil war began again with fresh vigour.

Let me hasten through the sad story. Matilda occupied Oxford and rendered its defences, as she deemed, impregnable. Robert crossed over into Normandy and pleaded for aid from Matilda's husband, Geoffry of Anjou.[3] His return was delayed by a rebellion in Normandy. Geoffry persuaded him to assist in taking ten castles, on condition that when this was done he would accompany him to England. Meanwhile Stephen came suddenly upon Wareham, burnt and plundered the town, and got possession of the castle. From thence he made a raid into Gloucestershire, surprised and burnt Cirencester, and took several fortresses. On the 29th Sept., 1142, he appeared before Oxford, and commenced the siege.[4]

Earl Robert hastened from Normandy to Matilda's succour. It it stated by some authorities that he was accompanied by the

[1] Flo. of Wor., 1141. Gest. Steph., p. 84. [2] Id., p. 85.
[3] W. of Malms., p. 606. [4] Gest. Steph., p. 88.

young prince, Henry, now a lad of nine years of age. They landed at Wareham on the 2nd of November with 400 knights.[1] The Earl's vassals were summoned to meet him at Cirencester. All was hurry and anxiety, for Matilda was believed to be in great danger, when a messenger rode in with the glad intelligence that she was safe at Wallingford. Despairing of succour, and in want of food, she had stolen out of the castle by night, accompanied by three servants and without the knowledge of the garrison. The snow lay thickly on the ground and the river was frozen over so hard as to be passable. They had dressed themselves in white to escape notice. They passed safely through the enemy's lines and walked a distance of six miles to Abingdon. Here they obtained horses which took them to Wallingford.[2]

It is said that Prince Henry spent the two next years at Bristol, under the care of his noble uncle, and a tutor called Matthews. Here, doubtless, he imbibed those tastes for literature and science which were so conspicuous in the Earl. Here, too, he was trained in the arts of war, and learned the rudiments of wise government.

Notwithstanding Matilda's escape from Oxford, Stephen's cause seemed to be prospering, when the battle of Wilton almost annihilated his rising hopes. Robert came suddenly upon him on the 1st July, 1143, as he was fortifying a nunnery, routed his forces, and, but for the determined bravery of William Martel, would have captured him again. All his baggage and treasures fell into the hands of the Earl.[3]

The lately dejected Matilda was once more mistress of half a kingdom. Her joy must have been damped by the sad news that reached her a few weeks later. Milo, Earl of Hereford, had been accidently shot, whilst hunting, by an arrow which one of his attendants had aimed at a passing stag.[4]

About this time also Robert lost his eldest son ; Robert, the glory and ornament of his house, was taken from him by an untimely death.[5]

[1] W. of Malms., p. 608. [2] Id., p. 610. Gest. Steph., p. 90. [3] Id., p. 92.
[4] Id., p. 93. [5] Id., p. 93.

Both sides now remained on the defensive, striving to collect fresh forces and replenish their exhausted coffers.

In the year 1145 hostilities re-commenced on the borders of Gloucestershire. The Earl was now assisted in the conduct of the war by his sons, William and Philip.[1] Malmesbury was besieged by Robert and relieved by Stephen. The royal army took up its quarters at Tetbury and besieged the castle of Beverstone. Robert was joined at Bristol by Roger, the new Earl of Hereford, and marched to the attack; whereupon Stephen retreated along the high table-land of the Cotswolds and captured the Castle of Sudely, by Winchcombe.[2]

We are now drawing near the close of the war. Philip, the Earl's son, persuaded him, in 1146, to fortify Farringdon with a view to threatening Oxford. Whilst he was thus employed the King came down upon him with a strong force and captured the fortress.[3] After that many of the nobles, who were wavering in their allegiance to Matilda went over to Stephen. The Earl of Chester, Robert's son-in-law, and Philip, the Earl of Gloucester's son, were amongst the deserters.[4]

Robert was almost alone in his fidelity to Matilda. The more Stephen prevailed, the more energetic he became in his endeavours to resist him. He saw Matilda constantly disregarding his advice and undoing, by her insolence and perverseness, the advantages he gained for her; yet he continued to support her and to correct by his own prudence the results of her folly. With this noble exception there seems to have been no feeling whatever of loyalty amongst the supporters of Stephen or Matilda. Men fought in small detachments for the sake of plunder, and as their private feuds directed them.

An old Saxon family, who took their name from the Manor of Berkeley, had long resided at Dursley. They were the founders of the Priories of Kingswood and Leonard Stanley. There was a feud at this time between Roger Berkeley and Walter, the brother of Roger, Earl of Hereford. The opportunity arrived;

[1] Gest. Steph., p. 105. [2] Id., 107. [3] Id., p. 113. [4] Id., pp. 115, 17.

Walter threw him into prison and endeavoured by the most cruel threats and tortures to induce him to deliver up his castle. Philip, the son of Earl Robert, was greatly incensed at this treatment of his father-in-law and determined to avenge him. His attack on Walter was at first successful; but he fell sick and was in danger of death. He vowed that if he should be permitted to recover he would make a pilgrimage to the Holy City, and, recovering, kept his vow.[1] What became of him is not related; but his unfilial conduct, in joining himself to his father's foes, is said to have hastened Robert's death.

The Earl had just sent back Prince Henry to his father in Normandy when he was seized with a fever, and died in his own city, Bristol, on the 31st of October, 1147.[2] His body was buried in the choir of St. James' Priory, of which he had been the founder and the patron. A tomb of green jasper marked the spot where he lay. Nothing could supply his loss to Matilda, and, within four months of his death, she retired in despair to her husband and child in Normandy. In the east window of Tewkesbury Abbey Church there is to be seen, at the present day, a portrait of Earl Robert. The arms depicted on his shield are "*three rests, gules in a field,or,*" but they are probably an afterthought.

It only remains to say a few words about Earl Robert's family.

It seems he had six sons.

1. Robert, whose death has been recorded.
2. William, who succeeded him in the Earldom.
3. Philip, who went on a pilgrimage to the Holy City.
4. Roger, who was elected to the Bishopric of Worcester in 1163, and consecrated on the 23rd August, 1164.[3] He visited Rome as an ambassador from Henry II. in 1167, and attended a council there in 1178. He died at Tours in 1179.[4]
5. Richard, who was made Bishop of Bayeux in 1135. He founded the Abbey of Ardennes, near Caen, and died 3rd April, 1142.[5]

[1] Gest. Steph., p. 118, 119. [2] Id., p. 132. [3] Annals of Worcester, M. of R. Ser., vol. IV., p. 31. [4] Id., pp. 381, 384. [5] Gall. Ch., XI., 78, Inst.

6. Hamon, who was slain at Toulouse, in 1160.[1]

And two daughters—

1. Matilda, who was the wife of Ranulph, 4th Earl of Chester and mother of Hugh, the 5th Earl.[2]

2. Mabel, who was the wife of Aubrey de Vere.

Mabel, the Countess of Earl Robert, died in 1157.

I fear that the bare recital of events, so distant and so distressing, has been somewhat tedious: but it must certainly be considered within the limits of our researches to collect and arrange the scanty records of the great and noble men who, centuries ago, trod the fertile plains and bold uplands of Gloucestershire.

[1] R. Hoved., 281 b.n., 40. (See Dugdale's Baronage, p. 535.)
[2] Monast. Ang., vol. II., 280 b., n. 20.

Notices of Recent Archæological Publications.

CHURCH WORK AND LIFE IN ENGLISH MINSTERS. By Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., F.S.A. Præcentor of Chichester, Author of "Traditions and Customs of English Cathedrals." London: Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly, 1879.

We should, as a matter of course, expect to find from the pen of the learned author of the book before us, a work of considerable interest and value, but we must confess to being unprepared to find such a vast amount of labour and learning as is embodied in these two small volumes. The subject, truly, is a large one, and has been the favourite study of the author for a considerable period. He justly says that these volumes are not a mere analysis or compilation, but an epitome of the collection of years, and adds: "I have concentrated upon them original research and independent study, among new and manuscript sources of information, without which no historic work can be thorough or last."

There is scarcely a monastic or collegiate building, or ancient ruin of any magnitude or beauty, throughout England and Wales, that has not received notice from Mr. Walcott's hands; and in dealing with architecture he has treated the subject under its highest form of beauty, as an expression of devotional feeling. His description of a church, and of its several parts, are full of symbolism—a dream of poetic imagery, related with a warmth of eloquence very captivating. Having, in the glowing language to which we have alluded, described the structure of our ancient Minsters, our author proceeds to give a vivid picture of the daily life of both Seculars and Conventuals, and the differences between them. For these particulars, which are of great interest, we must refer our readers to his pages.

Having described the several classes of Conventuals, and the arrangements of a conventual cloister, Mr. Walcott gives an account of the English Cathedrals, both of what is now called the Old and the New Foundations, but which previously to the dissolution of the Religious houses were known, respectively, the former as *Secular*, and the latter as *Regular*, or *Conventual*. In the constitution of the former, no change was made by King Henry viij., but he dissolved the latter and re-founded them. At the same time he increased their number by the addition of six new sees, composed of two churches of regular Augustinian Canons—Oxford and Bristol; and of four Benedictine Churches—Peterborough, Gloucester, Chester, and Westminster. Westminster, however, enjoyed its new dignity as a Cathedral for but a short time. Its Bishop was removed, but it retained its Chapter

as a Collegiate Church. At the same time, Bath and Coventry, though allowed to retain their titular designation as *cities*, were reduced, the church of Bath being made parochial, whilst the magnificent Cathedral of Coventry, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrance of its Bishop, Roland Lee, was ruthlessly levelled to the ground. To mitigate the odium which arose in consequence of the rapine of the religious houses, the king promised to found a number of new sees, but his own necessities, and the greed of his courtiers, constrained him to abandon the idea, and, with the exceptions above stated, no addition was made to the number of sees until the present reign.

A very concise, but, at the same time a full, description is given of the structure and architectural details of each of the English Cathedrals, many of them illustrated by ground plans, shewing the arrangement of the various buildings, the technical details of which are relieved by the insertion of legends and anecdotes.

In the second Volume is an Historical Account of the Origin and Development of Monasteries in England, from the foundation of Lindisfarne, by King Oswald, when, in 652, the successor of St. Aidan built a church, not of stone, but of hewn oak and thatched with reed, according to the manner of the Scots. At Bangor, Mr. Walcott tells us from Bede, "there was so great a multitude of Monks that the convent was divided into seven companies, with their several presidents; none contained less than three hundred brethren, who all lived by the labour of their hands. It had many churches, probably small oratories."

The religious houses rapidly increased. The earlier monasteries were placed in the most desolate and inconvenient places, being often far away from the haunts of men, amongst fens, marshes, mountains, and wilds. "Give these monks," says Girald du Barri, "a naked moor or a wild wood, then let a few years pass away, and you will find not only beautiful churches, but dwellings of men built around them;" and "this," adds Mr. Walcott, "is the true history of the roofless walls, ruined towers, and ivied arches hidden and withdrawn by kindly nature in her pitying mood among dense picturesque woods, in the midst of rich lawn and green pasture, by the side of the musical flow of winding rivers or the silvery spray of rushing streams." The Celtic monks never sought for the gifts of lands and possessions. There is an anecdote narrated as having happened at Gloucester. On the arrival of the monks there, a nobleman, named Wulfric la Rue, cruelly murdered six priests on the highway, and was compelled, by way of vicarious reparation, to endow seven chaplain monks with the lands which had been the scene of his foul offence.

In the middle of the seventh century there were upwards of a score of religious houses in England, and they continued to increase, but in the ninth century a great many of them had been ravaged and destroyed by the Danes, and in these evil times discipline decayed and many disorders began to prevail. The religious tone became lowered, and monks began to supersede secular canons. In the eleventh century a religious revival took place, and new churches were erected everywhere.

In these days popular interest in monasteries is confined to admiration of their remains, and it will be well to study Mr. Walcott's account of the growth of the monastic system and establishment of the various orders. His chapters containing a description of the relation of the monasteries to the Bishop—to Parish Churches—to the People—to Literature, and Education—to the Collegiate System—to National Taste, Thought, and Temporal Advantage, will be read with great interest and profit, as will also be his short account of the dissolution in the 16th century, which he concludes by expressing an earnest desire to make one most important fact clear. "The religious had acknowledged the royal supremacy. The dissolution of the greater houses took place by Stat., 31st Henry viij., c 13, in May, 1539, and by 31st Henry, viij., c. 14, in June of the same year, the Statute of the Six Articles was passed confirming the doctrine of the mass and celibacy of the clergy (*Parl. Hist.* i. 587). It was not until ten years later that the re-construction of the devotional offices took effect. The Reformers, therefore, had no share in the reign of terror and cupidity, or its destructive consequences."

Finally Mr. Walcott publishes what he calls The English Student's Monasticon, in which, under their names in alphabetical order, he gives a description of all the religious houses in England and Wales, shewing: 1st, the dedication of each. 2nd, Its order. 3rd, Its geographical position. 4th, Its net income at the dissolution. 5th, Its founder; in which, occasionally, architectural observations are introduced, pointing out features worthy of special note, historic incidents, customs, anecdotes illustrative of the times, and even a legend throwing light on popular sentiment, as tending to stimulate or assist independent research. The architectural descriptions are, in some cases, illustrated by well executed ground plans of the churches and monastic buildings, and he appends a long list of printed books and MSS. which he has used as authorities.

It is quite imposible, that in a work of this kind, slight errors can be avoided, but we have noticed very few. As, however, it is to be hoped that very soon a new and enlarged edition will be called for, it may be well to note those which we have observed.

Vol. I., p. 33, line 22, Austin Canons were originally *not* close shaven but wore their beards.

——— p. 40, line 13, *Monasterium* is used by St. Augustine himself in his rule for the house of his clergy at Hippo.

——— p. 93, line 22. Not the antiphon, but the Latin commencement of each psalm.

Vol. II., p. 121. The remains of Flanesford Priory are not *insignificant*, but comparatively extensive and of very considerable interest.

We must conclude by expressing a hope that in the new edition which we anticipate, the author will append a Glossary and also a good Index; both much needed in a work which will form an important book of reference.

THE HISTORY OF WARMINSTER. By John J. Daniell, Vicar of Winterborne Stoke, and Berwick St. James, formerly Curate of Warminster. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. Warminster: M. B. Coates, 1879.

We are always glad to find parochial clergymen taking an intelligent interest in the history and archæology of their parishes. There are no persons more competent to deal with the subject, if they will only give their attention to it. They may not have ready access to the Public Records, and to the higher classes of historical documents, but they are performing a high service to topographical history, if they will only make use, as Mr. Daniell has done, of the parochial records and documents within their reach, and carefully describe the antiquities which they see with their own eyes.

Mr. Daniell states that Mr. Henry Wansey furnished to Sir Richard Colt Hoare a considerable collection of materials, when the latter was preparing his "History of South Wilts." Sir Richard's account of Warminster was chiefly founded upon it, but, Mr. Daniell says, Sir Richard only made a scant use of Mr. Wansey's materials, and that in his work he has availed himself of much which remains. He also intimates that many papers at Longleat probably contain memoranda relating to Warminster during the 16th and 17th centuries—diaries and documents of the families of Wansey, Halliday, Harris, and others. These, it is hoped, Mr. Daniell will at some time use in a enlarged edition of his history.

In commencing his work Mr. Daniell sketches the history of the district under the Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and Norman periods. With respect to the former he gives an account of the opening of several barrows in the vicinity of Warminster, commenting, somewhat severely, upon the iniquity of ransacking those ancient houses of the dead. It is doubtful if Warminster itself was a Roman Station. Camden supposes the place to be the site of *Verlucio*, but Sir Richard Colt Hoare places *Verlucio* at a place called Sandy Lane, between *Aquæ Solis* and *Cunetio*, near Marlborough. Warminster, however, shews evidence of Roman occupation in the discovery of a great number of Roman coins and pottery in the vicinity.

The great Manor of Warminster, or Guerminster, as then written, appears in Domesday as a portion of the Royal Demesne, and was granted by Henry II. to Robert Mauduit, and Mr. Daniell traces its devolution to the middle of the 17th century; and in the same manner he deals with the lesser manors and lands, but he omits to give in footnotes, or otherwise, references to authorities in support of his statements.

Mr. Daniell gives some very interesting details of the contentions between the Royalists and Parliamentarians, in Warminster and the neighbourhood, during the Civil War and the Monmouth Rebellion, and relates the conspiracy for the assassination of James II. at Warminster, which was frustrated by a sudden attack of bleeding of the king's nose, at Salisbury, which prevented him from proceeding to Warminster as was intended. This incident gives us a nice bit of folk lore. It is related by John Aubrey,

a local antiquary, that the king's nose "bled for two days, and after many essays in vain, was stopped by the *sympathetic ash*, which Mr. Wm. Nash, a chirurgeon at Salisbury, applied." Aubrey prescribes how the sympathetic ash is to be prepared for stopping bleeding at the nose. "Cut an ash of one, two, or three years' growth at the very hour and minute of the sun's entry into Taurus. A chip of this will do it." Many of the historical incidents and anecdotes are of much interest, and are related in a pleasant and lively manner.

Mr. Daniel describes the Parish Church and its accessories, prints the monumental inscriptions therein, and gives a list of the Vicars from the beginning of the 14th century. The Records of the Vestry, we are told, are in excellent order, commencing in 1612, and contain many interesting entries.

CARMARTHEN AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD. Notes Topographical and Historical. By WILLIAM SPURRELL. Second Edition. Carmarthen: William Spurrell, 1879.

THIS work, in every respect, does infinite credit to the ability and taste of Mr. Spurrell, who is not only its author, but also its printer and publisher. It was originally published as a Handbook for Strangers visiting Carmarthen, and has, very deservedly, passed, in a second edition, to a higher class.

A sketch is given of the history and antiquities of the town, and of its civil and social condition, and the churches and chapels are described. A Grammar School was founded here by Queen Elizabeth. The school building was renovated in 1684, and in 1857 there was amalgamated with it a school, founded by Sir Thomas Powell, who died in 1720. He was the son of the eminent Judge, Sir John Powell, who sat on the trial of the Seven Bishops. On the removal of the old School-House for the erection of an Infirmary, two fragments of a stone tablet were found, bearing little more than half of the first two lines of a Greek inscription; the remainder of the stone could not be found. It ran:—

Οἰκοδομεῖν χωρίς θεμέθλου πονὸς ἔστι μάταιος
Νοσφὶ δὲ γραμματικῆς ἀνεμώλιον ἔστι μαθήσαι
ἔτι
ἀπὸ τῆς χριστονοίας
ἄρξῃ

Which an eminent Greek scholar has rendered thus:

With no foundation, there's no use of building;
And without grammar, just as vain is learning,
To crown the whole, there must be Christian training.

In this school several eminent men have received their education. Among others four Bishops, viz.: Lewis Bailey, Bishop of Bangor, 1606; Morgan Owen, Bishop of Llandaff, 1639; Thomas Howell, Bishop of

Bristol, 1644; and William Thomas, Bishop of St. David's, 1677 and of Worcester, 1683. We may also mention Beau Nash and Dr. David Davies, Physician to the Queen's Lying-in Hospital, who attended the Duchess of Kent when Queen Victoria was born. In the Presbyterian College at Carmarthen, among other eminent men, was educated Dr. Abraham Rees, the editor of the Encyclopædia which bears his name, and which, it is believed, was in great part written by himself.

Carmarthen is also remarkable for the famous dead who have found their sepulchre within its precincts. In St. Peter's Church was interred Hywel y Pedolau, the foster brother of King Edward II. Until 1790 there was a tomb of Alabaster bearing his recumbent effigy, holding in his clenched hands a horseshoe, as if in the act of straightening it, a feat, it is said, he was able to accomplish—hence his name. In the year above mentioned this tomb was ground down into plaster for cornices. Sir Rhys ap Thomas was at first buried in the Church of the Grey Friars, but upon the dissolution of that house his remains were removed to St. Peter's, where his tomb (restored) now remains, bearing his effigy, and that of his second wife, Janet, daughter of Thomas Matthew, of Radyr. Sir Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex and Hereford, also rests here, as does Sir William Nott, whose services in India are still fresh in our memories, and Sir Richard Steele, the Essayist.

In his "Chronicle of Local events," Mr. Spurrell relates some incidents of more than local interest, and an appendix contains a large number of monumental inscriptions, chiefly from St. Peter's Church, many of which are now covered by the laying down of a tile pavement in the process of the "restoration" of the church.

THE ROMAN SYSTEM OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION to the Accession of Constantine the Great, being the Arnold Prize Essay for 1879. By W. T. Arnold, B.A., formerly Scholar of University College, Oxford. London: Macmillan and Co., 1879.

Mr. Arnold's treatise is a brief, but comprehensive, review of the Roman System of Provincial Administration, and contains, within a small compass, a vast amount of interesting information. The subject is very large, extending over a period of nearly 700 years, from the close of the second Punic War, B.C. 210, to the final overthrow of the Great Western Empire by the barbarians, in A.D. 476. This period Mr. Arnold divides into three eras:—the first during the time of the Republic, the second in the Early Empire, and the third of the later Empire. It was a period of great wars, domestic turbulence, and political change. The alterations from time to time in the condition of the supreme authority necessarily entailed numerous changes both in the principles and practice of administration. To follow all the varying details involved in these changes, required very careful and persistent study. Mr. Arnold has acquitted himself very satisfactorily within the limits of an essay, which is itself a valuable contribution to

the literature of Roman times, and he has shown himself well qualified to deal with the subject more fully. We doubt not that a more extended work will, in no long time, be required from him.

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE NOTICES OF THE PARISH OF DEDDINGTON, OXON. By the REV. E. MARSHALL, M.A., F.S.A. Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1879.

THIS little treatise was originally issued in the "Transactions of the North Oxfordshire Archæelogical Society," and as far as Deddington is concerned is a valuable contribution towards the history of the county. Mr. Marshall traces the devolution of the Manor, from the time of the Domesday Survey to the 16th century, and his notices have a special genealogical interest with relation to the families of Basset and Despenser.

THE ANNALS OF NEWARK-UPON-TRENT, comprising the History, Curiosities, and Antiquities of the Borough, by CORNELIUS BROWN, Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, &c. London: H. Sotheran and Co. Newark: S. Whiles, 1879.

THE strategic position of the town and castle of Newark-upon-Trent, whose situation on the great highway acquired for it the designation of "The Key of the North," has, in all military enterprises, rendered its possession an object of fierce contention. Its history, consequently, could not fail to abound in interest and exciting incident, and it has been fortunate in finding one so well qualified as Mr. Brown to write its annals.

Mr. Brown commences his narrative at the beginning. Having examined the arguments of Dr. Stuckley in favour of the Roman origin of Newark, which we think he very properly rejects, and related the tradition of the missionary visit of Paulinus, about 637; he advances "from," what he calls," "the region of argument and inference to that of historical fact."

It appears that in the reign of King Edward the Confessôr, the Manor of Newark was held by Leofric, Earl of Mercia, who, in conjunction with his wife, the celebrated Godiva, sister of Therald de Burgenhall, Sheriff of Lincolnshire, gave it to Wulff, Bishop of Lincoln, on behalf of the Abbey of Stow, for the purpose of founding a College of Priests, as had been done in St. Paul's Church, in London, and it is shown in the Domesday Survey that Remigius, then Bishop of Lincoln, held in Newark 7 carucates of land, and that there were 56 burgesses, etc., shewing that the town was a borough of ancient prescription.

The interest of the place, however, chiefly centres in the Castle, which was built by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, who was consecrated in 1123, and died in 1147. Before the Castle was completed, the contention between Stephen and his Barons commenced. The Bishop of Lincoln was supposed to be an adherent of Maud. He was seized by Stephen, and, with others, was committed to prison, at Devizes, where they were kept

upon bread and water until they should have delivered up their Castles. To this the Bishop was obliged to yield, but his governor of the Castle, with the courage and fidelity which was frequently manifested by his successors, refused to deliver it unless he had an order to do so by the Bishop, in person, which the Bishop was obliged to give. From this time the Castle would appear to have been retained in the hands of the Crown until 1215, when, after a vigorous defence, it was siezed by the Barons in opposition to King John, under the command of Gilbert de Gaunt. The Barons in the following year, hearing of John's capture of Lincoln, and his approach towards Newark, evacuated the place, and John entered in an alarming state of illness, and three days afterwards breathed his last. Upon the accession of Henry III. the castle was again seized by some of the turbulent nobility. The King invested the place with a large army, and after a seige of eight days, the Castle surrendered, and was given up to Hugh, the Bishop of Lincoln, the rightful owner. It continued parcel of the possessions of the See of Lincoln until the accession to the throne of King Edward vi., when Bishop Henry Holbeach, among other alienations, conveyed the Castle and Manor of Newark to the Crown, in exchange for the Rectory of Worksop and certain tithes. From this date it became a Royal Castle, and continued so until after Charles I. had surrendered himself to the Scots' army, outside its walls, when it was "slighted," by order of the Parliamentarians. Newark was frequently the scene of active military operations. More especially was it remarkable during the Great Rebellion for the courage and fidelity of its governors to the Royal cause, and for the distinguished loyalty and gallantry of its inhabitants. Never during the contest did the town fall into the enemies' hands. The stories of its sieges, its gallant defence, its vigorous sorties, and many other incidents, are related in a very spirited manner in Mr. Brown's pages.

The town was not incorporated until 3rd Edward vi., when the Municipal authority was vested in an Alderman and 12 Assistants; and although further privileges were granted to the burgesses by James I. the constitution of the corporation was not changed until 1625, when the Chief Magistrate was made a Mayor. In 1561, a grant of arms was made to the town, by Sir Gilbert Dethicke, Garter. The original Patent is represented by a photograph, the arms being: *barry wavy of six, upon a chief a peacock, displayed, between, on the dexter, a fleur-de-lis, and on the sinister, a lion passant guardant.* We omit the tinctures; nevertheless, at the Heralds' Visitation of 1614, the municipal authorities produced a Common Seal, dated in 1566, which differed from the grant of 1561, a fleur-de-lis being substituted on the sinister chief for the lion passant, and this was allowed. An engraving of this seal is introduced by Mr. Brown from the Visitation of Nottinghamshire, printed by the Harlian Society.

Though there are instances upon record of Newark having returned burgesses to parliament from a very early period, such instances are rare, and it was not until 1661 that the returns were made with regularity. Among its representatives have been many eminent men. A spirited contest took place in 1839, a vacancy having been occasioned by the appointment of Serjeant Wilde, one of the sitting members, Solicitor-General, when his re-election was contested by Mr. Frederick Thesiger,

but the former succeeded in retaining his seat by a majority of nine. The subsequent careers of these two great lawyers were very remarkable, Both rose to the highest legal position—the woolsack—and both were advanced to the House of Peers, the former as Lord Truro, and the latter as Lord Chelmsford. But the most remarkable of its Burgesses in Parliament was William Ewart Gladstone, whom Newark had the honour of first introducing, at the early age of 22 years, to the Council of the Nation. The account of his candidature and first election is given in oonsiderable detail, and it has had the advantage of having been corrected by the Right Honorable gentleman himself.

Newark has been prolific in great men. It would be impossible here to mention even the names of the Worthies which the town has produced, and of whose births and career interesting sketches are given by Mr. Brown. Among the most conspicuous, perhaps, may be mentioned Wm. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester.

Mr. Brown's undertaking was by no means a light one, and although, perhaps, his matter might have been somewhat more clearly arranged, and some of the more recent transactions, especially parliamentary elections, given in less detail, the work has, upon the whole, been very satisfactorily accomplished, and forms a very valuable contribution to local history.

ON AN INSCRIBED STONE AT ORCHARD WYNDHAM, SOMERSET, called "Old Mother Shipton's Tomb," with six illustrations. Bristol: William George, 1879.

In Blackdown Wood, near Orchard Wyndham, is a vertical stone, on which is a rude representation of a human bust, and, underneath, an inscription in Roman capitals of antique form, below which is a wreath *(fig.* 38,*)* This stone, although popularly known as "Mother Shipton's Tomb," has no tradition attending it, and, notwithstanding the questionable character of the inscription, it has been accepted by antiquaries as a genuine stone of the Roman period, and identical with a stone at Ellenborough, near the Egremont property in Cumberland, which is described by Camden, (Brit., Vol. II., 1014, Ed. 1732) and is supposed to have been brought into Somersetshire by one of the Wyndham family. It has found a place in the Roman map of Somerset which our valued and usually cautious member, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, has published in the last volume of the "Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society," and even the learned Dr. Hübner has been deceived.

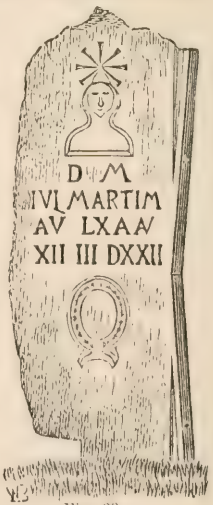


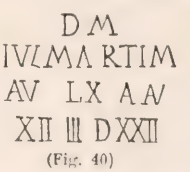
Fig. 38.

A letter in the "West Somerset Free Press," describing a visit to this stone, having attracted

the attention of Mr. William George, of Bristol (a member of this Society) he resolved to seek further information upon the subject, and has ascertained that the stone described by Camden is still preserved in Cumberland, and that the Orchard Wyndham stone is a spurious imitation.

The Ellenborough stone was figured by the Rev. J. Horsley, F.R.S., in his "Britannia Romana," in 1732, Cumberland, fig. lxxi, which is here reproduced *(fig. 39)*. This inscription reads "Dis Manibus Julia Martima vixit annos duodecim menses tres dies viginti duos." It will be noticed that this inscription is plain and easily read, whilst that on the Orchard Wyndham stone is unintelligible; and Mr. George proceeds to point out how the confusion arose. Alexander Gordon published an engraving of the Ellenborough stone in 1726, in the "Itinerarium Septentrionali;" and Mr. George gives a *facsimile* of the inscription *(fig. 40)*. On comparing this corrupt version with the inscription on the Orchard Wyndham stone it will be found that they entirely agree. The sculptor of the Orchard Wyndham stone has faithfully copied all Gordon's errors, and it is abundantly clear that the latter must have been copied from the former. There is, however, no wreath on the Ellenborough stone. Whence then came that on the Orchard Wyndham stone? Mr. George shews us that the Orchard Wyndham sculptor, having a large vacant space under his inscription, had recourse to the same work for some ornament to fill it, and finding there in the engraving of a Roman altar, a *corona triumphalis (fig. 41)*, cut it on his stone, not recognising the inconcruity of using that ornament, which was only assigned to a successful Roman General, on the gravestone of a young maiden.

(Fig. 39)



(Fig. 40)

(Fig. 41)

We have not followed in this brief notice the course pursued by Mr. George in this investigation, but may say that his sagacity and perseverance therein are only equalled by his success in detecting and exposing this imposture.

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WEST GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—VICE-PRESIDENTS : Sir J. Campbell, Bart. ; Sir David Wedderburn, Bart. COUNCIL PROPER : Edwin Crawshay ; Rev. N. A. Ellacombe, M.A. ; Sir John Maclean, F.S.A.; REV. W. Bagnall Oakley, M.A. LOCAL SECRETARIES : Newent——— : Lydney, G. W. Keeling ; Berkeley, J. Herbert Cooke, F.S.A. ; Dursley and Wotton-under-Edge, ——— ; Thornbury, J. Y. Sturge ; Chipping Sodbury, Rev. W. Blathwayt, M.A.

BRISTOL.—VICE-PRESIDENTS : The Right Worshipful the Mayor of Bristol ; The Hon. and Right Rev. Bishop Clifford ; The very Rev. The Dean of Bristol ; Rev. Dr. Gotch ; The Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers ; John Beddoe, M.D., F.R.S. ; P. W. S. Miles. COUNCIL PROPER : Rev. J. W. Caldicott, D.D. ; Thomas Kerslake ; Robert Lang S. H. Swayne. LOCAL SECRETARY : John Reynolds.

CHELTENHAM.—VICE-PRESIDENTS : Sir Brooke Kay, Bart. ; R. R Coxwell Rogers ; Thomas Wright, F.R.S.E.. COUNCIL PROPER : S. H. Gael ; ——— LOCAL SECRETARY : John Middleton.

CIRENCESTER.—VICE-PRESIDENT : Thomas William Chester Master. COUNCIL PROPER : Professor Church, M.A. LOCAL SECRETARY : Wilfred Cripps.

GLOUCESTER.—VICE-PRESIDENTS : The Right Worshipful the Mayor of Gloucester ; ——— Thomas Gambier Parry. COUNCIL PROPER : Granville Lloyd Baker ; John Bellows. LOCAL SECRETARY : F. W. Waller.

STROUD DISTRICT.—VICE-PRESIDENTS : J. E. Dorington ; ——— ——— COUNCIL PROPER : Sidney Biddell ; William Leigh. LOCAL SECRETARIES : George F. Playne, F.G.S. ; A. E. Smith.

TEWKESBURY.—VICE-PRESIDENTS : Reginald J. Yorke, M.P. COUNCIL PROPER : Rev. H. Robeson, M.A. LOCAL SECRETARY : ———

OUT-DISTRICT.—VICE-PRESIDENT : George T. Clark, F.S.A. COUNCIL PROPER : William Adlam, F.S.A. ; Rev. Prebendary Scarth, M.A.

HON. TREASURER : C. J. THOMAS.

HON. SECTIONAL SECRETARIES : John Taylor, J. F. Nicholls, F.S.A.

HON. GENERAL SECRETARIES : P. Hallett, M.A. ; Rev. W. Bazeley, M.A.

* Officers are ex-officio members of Council.

* ——— Indicates positions not filled up.

Rules of the Society.

§ 1.—OF THE SOCIETY'S NAME AND OBJECT.

§ 2.—OF ITS CONSTITUTION.

II.—Of the Divisions.
III.—Of the Members in General.
IV.—Of the Subscribing Members.
V.—Of the Honorary Members.
VI.—Of the Patrons.
VII.—Of the Council.
VIII.—Of the President, President of Council, and Vice-Presidents.
IX.—Of the Treasurer.
X.—Of the Secretaries—General, Sectional, and District.
XI.—Of the Ordinary Members of Council.

§ 3.—OF ITS PROCEEDINGS.

XII.—Of the Divisions.
XIII.—Of the General Meetings.
XIV.—Of the Subscribers' Meetings.
XV.—Of the Council Meetings.
XVI.—Of the Extraordinary Meetings.

§ 4.—OF ITS PROPERTY.

XVII.—Of Property Generally.
XVIII.—Of Property Given or Deposited.

APPENDIX.

On the Constitution of Local Branches.

§ 1.—OF THE SOCIETY'S NAME AND OBJECT.

I.—The Society shall be named "The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society," and its object, whilst not excluding the consideration of matters of general antiquarian interest, shall specially be the ultivation of the Archæology of Bristol and Gloucestershire.

With this view it will seek :

1.—To collect and classify original and existing information on the Antiquities of the district, and to thus accumulate materials for an improved County History.

2.—To establish a Library and Museum for the preservation and study of these and other objects of antiquarian value.

3.—To promote, by Meetings, Publications, &c., such an interest, throughout the district, in the monuments of the past history as shall tend to counteract their present liability to inconsiderate and needless des. truction.

§ 2.—OF THE SOCIETY'S CONSTITUTION.

OF THE DIVISIONS.

III.—The Society shall consist of Patrons, Trustees, Council, Honorary and Subscribing Members. The Council shall be composed of the Officers of the Society—President, President of Council, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, General, Sectional, and District Secretaries—and Ordinary Members purposely elected.

Of the Members in General.

III.—The Members of each of the above divisions, however appointed, shall be equally Members of the Society ; and Membership shall in every case imply subscription to the rules. All Members will be entitled to receive notice of and to participate in the Society's General Meetings, and to have access to its books and antiquities. They shall also be entitled to receive copies of the Society's publications either gratuitously or at such reduced price as may from time to time be determined.

Membership shall cease, 1st by voluntary resignation; 2nd by the non-fulfilment of its expressed conditions; 3rd by general conduct unworthy of the Society. The Council, either of its own free act, or on the motion of any three subscribers, shall determine the applicability of the two latter clauses to a Member, who, however, shall have the right of appeal to a Subscribers' Meeting against the decision.

Of the Subscribing Members.

IV.—The Subscribing Members—elected by the Council and paying an entrance fee of half-a-guinea, with an annual subscription of half-a-guinea, or with a life donation of not less than five guineas—shall form the Subscribing or Constituent body of the Society. In addition to the privileges of General Membership they shall be eligible for the Council and shall be exclusively entitled to participate in all the powers of the Society's Subscribers', or Private Business Meetings.

Of the Honorary Members.

V.—The Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council for their eminence in Archæology, and elected by a Subscribers' Meeting. In addition to the privileges of General Membership, they shall have the right of attending and speaking at Subscribers' Meetings.

Of the Patrons.

VI.—The Patrons—nominated by Council and elected by a Subscribers' Meeting—shall have all the privileges of Honorary Members; and in addition thereto, the right of attending and speaking at the Meetings of Council.

Of the Council.

VII.—The Members of the Council—elected at the Annual Meeting by, and, with the exception of the President, from Subscribers solely, shall form the Society's Governing Body, They shall be exclusively entitled to participate in all the powers of the Council Meetings. They shall submit a Report of their proceedings to the Annual Meeting, and be generally responsible for the Society's management and property to the Subscribing Body.

Of the President, President of Council, and Vice-Presidents.

VIII.—The President, President of Council, and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually. The President with the rights of a Subscriber, *ex officio*, shall take the chair at all Meetings of the Society, and in addition to his own vote have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal. He

shall regulate the Society's discussions, enforce its laws, and have power at any time to call any form of extraordinary meeting. In the absence of the President the chair shall be taken by the President of Council, by one of the Vice-Presidents or by some other Member of Council.

Of the Treasurer.

IX.—The Treasurer—elected annually—shall hold the finances of the Society and shall pay all accounts passed by Council. He shall keep a book of receipts and payments, which he shall produce when the Council may require ; he shall submit a balance sheet and other proper accounts for audit, previously to the Annual Meeting, to two Members of the Council appointed for that purpose, and shall lay the same before the Annual Meeting.

Of the Secretaries—General, Sectional, and Local.

X.—The Secretaries shall be elected annually. The General Secretary or Secretaries, shall have charge of the Society's correspondence and communications, shall personally, or by substitute, attend each meeting, shall keep a record of its proceedings, shall transmit notices to members, and read letters and papers communicated to the Society. The Sectional Secretaries shall assist the General Secretary or Secretaries, and have charge of special departments. The local Secretaries will represent the Society's interests in their respective localities.

Of the Ordinary Members of Council.

XI.—The Ordinary Members of Council shall be not more than twenty-four in number, a third of whom shall retire annually, but shall be eligible for re-election. The order of retirement for the first two years shall be determined by lot and subsequently by rotation. The Constitution of the Council shall be grounded as far as practicable on the principle of a proportionate representation of localities.

§ 3.—OF THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Of the Divisions.

XII.—The year's Proceedings shall be divided into two terms, one of eight months, extending from October to May ; the other of four months, from June to September, both inclusive. Throughout these terms there will be three classes of meetings—General, Subscribers and Council—which may, however, be held in immediate connection, by means of the same notice paper, at the same time and place.

Of the General Meetings.

XIII.—The General Meetings—purely Archæological, and open to all Members and introduced Visitors—shall be held as often as shall be deemed convenient. The winter meetings, chiefly indoor, will be devoted to papers, lectures, discussions, conversaziones, &c.! the summer, chiefly outdoor, to excursions, for the examination of the Antiquities of the Society's district.

Of the Subscriber's Meetings.

XIV.—The Subscriber's Meetings—for the transaction of the Society's private business, in which Subscribers only may vote—shall be held in connection with each General Meeting or as often as business may require: twelve to form a quorum. The Subscribers' Meeting shall ballot for Honorary Members, and Patrons nominated by the Council shall confirm or annul provisional appointments made by the Council in case of vacancies; shall discuss and decide on all proposed changes in the Society's laws; and shall, generally, be the recognised means of business communications between the Council and the Subscribers, and the ultimate appeal for determining all questions affecting the Society's interests.

The chief Subscribers' Meeting in the summer term shall be the ANNUAL MEETING, for receiving the Report of Council and for the election of its new Members. The Council of the past year shall then nominate the new Officers with the right, however, in each Subscriber of proposing others in substitution. To the Subscribers shall belong the duty of nominating the new Ordinary Members of Council. In case of the total nomination list thus formed outnumbering the total vacancies, and thus producing a contested election, each voter present shall indicate the candidates whom he or she supports, either by writing down their names from such nomination list, or by striking out all others from a copy of it, and putting the paper folded in the ballot box. Two Scrutineers, appointed by the President or Presiding Officer, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall then examine the lists, and report thereon to the Meeting.

In the case of an appeal from any decision of the Council to a Subscribers' Meeting, not less than four weeks' notice in writing shall be given by the appellant party to the General Secretary or Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly to each Subscriber, at least fourteen days before the Meeting at which the appeal is to be considered. In this case the decision of a majority of the Subscribers' Meeting shall be final.

In the case of a proposed change of law, not less than four weeks' notice, in writing, signed at least by three subscribing members, shall be given to the General Secretary or Secretaries, who shall issue notices

accordingly to each Subscriber, at least fourteen days before the Meeting at which the proposition is to be considered. Twenty members shall form a quorum, of which a two-thirds majority, with confirmation by a subsequent meeting, shall be necessary for change.

In case of a proposed dissolution of the Society, not less than three calendar months' notice in writing, containing the proposition in full and and signed by at least twenty Subscribing Members shall be given to the General Secretary or Secretaries, who shall communicate the same, by letter, to each Subscriber, at least two calendar months before the Meeting at which it is to be discussed. At such Meeting the decision shall lie with the whole body of the Subscribers represented either personally or by proxy, and to affirm a dissolution, a two-thirds majority, comprising at least half that body, shall be necessary. Any proposition for the dissolution of the Society must contain a provision for the disposition of the Society's property.

Of the Council Meetings.

XV.—The Council Meetings—open to Patrons and Members of Council—may be held in connection with the other meetings of the Society, or as often as business may require. They shall elect new Subscribing Members; provisionally fill up vacancies that may occur in any of the offices; determine the admission of papers and their subsequent publication; and superintend the property and finances. Four shall form a quorum, and not less than two-thirds majority of those present shall be necessary for the election of new Subscribing Members.

Of Extraordinary Meetings.

XVI.—An Extraordinary Meeting may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition—signed, in the case of a General or Subscribers' Meetings by twenty Subscribers, and in the case of a Council Meeting by five Members of Council—stating the object of the proposed meeting, and addressed to the General Secretary or Secretaries, who shall at once issue fourteen days' proper notice of the same in the cases of a General or a Subscribers', and seven days, in the case of a Council Meeting.

§ 4—OF THE SOCIETY'S PROPERTY.

Of Property Generally.

XVII.—The Society's Property shall be legally vested in Trustees specially appointed by a Subscribers' Meeting. All property shall be

under the control of the Council and in case of dissolution shall be disposed of according to the vote of the dissolution Meeting.

Of Property Given or Deposited.

XVIII.—Any Person contributing Books or Specimens shall be at liberty to resume possession of them in the event of the Property of the Society being sold or transferred otherwise than to any similar Society in the District. Also, persons shall have liberty, with the consent of the Council, to deposit Books or Specimens for a specific time only.

APPENDIX.

On the Constitution of Local Branches.

I.—The Local Sub-divisions of the General Council shall be Local Committees for the purpose of organizing Branch Societies for Local Archæological work.

II.—The Government of these Branches shall be a Local Council consisting of the Local Sub-division of the General Council *plus* an equal number of Members annually elected by the Branch.

III.—The Members of the County Society shall alone be Members proper of the Branch.

IV.—The Branch thus formed shall prepare for itself a Constitution and Laws which shall be submitted for confirmation or revision to the General Council.

V.—Any subsequent alteration in the Constitutional Laws of the Branch shall be submitted to the General Council for confirmation or revision.

List of Members

Elected before April 22nd, 1879.

NAMES OF LIFE MEMBERS MARKED (*)

The Secretary would be obliged by any correction of error in the following List.

*Ackers, B., St. John, Prinknash Park, Painswick.
Ackworth, Rev. W. P., M.A., Watermoor, Cirencester.
Adlam, William, F.S.A., Manor House, Chew Magna.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte, M.P., Avondale House, Cheltenham.
Allard, W., Tewkesbury.
Allen, Rev. William Taprell, M.A., St. Briavels' Vicarage, Coleford.
*Ames, Reginald, 14, Conduit Street, London, W.
Ancrum, M., Rutherford, Upton St. Leonard's, Gloucester
Arrowsmith, J.W., 99, White Ladies' Road, Clifton.
10 Astles, J., Westwood, Stonehouse.
Atwood, Rev. H. A. S., M.A., F.R.A.S., Ashelworth Rectory, near Gloucester.
Austin, E. 8, Rodney Place, Clifton.
Asher, and Co., Bedford Street, Covent Garden, London.

Baillie, Colin Campbell, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham.
Baillie, Capt. W. H., Dunkbourne House, Cirencester.
Baily, T. Canning, *Cornish Telegraph* Office, Penzance.
*Baker, Arthur, Park House, Richmond Hill, Clifton.
Baker, Granville Lloyd, Hardwicke, Gloucester.
Baker, James, the Mall, Clifton.
20 Baker, W. Procter, J.P., Bromwell House, Brislington.
*Baker, William Mills, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.
Ball, A. J. Morton, Stroud.
Bamford, Rev. R., Redcliff House, College Road South, Clifton.
Barker, Rev. H. C. Raymond, Danglingworth Rectory, Gloucester.
Barnet, F. Gilmore, 15, Vyvyan Terrace, Clifton.
Bartholomew, F. M., B.A., Clifton College.
Bartley, Robt. T. H., M.D., Wellington Terrace, Weston-super-Mare.
Bathurst, The Right Hon. the Earl.
Baynes, C. R., The Lammas, Minchinhampton.
30 Bazeley, Rev. William, Matson Rectory, Gloucester.
*Bazley, Thomas S., Hatherop Castle, Fairford.
*Beach, The Rt. Hon. Sir Michael Hicks, M.P. for East Gloucestershire.
*Beddoe, John, M.D., F.R.S., Mortimer House, Clifton.
Bell, Rev. Charles Dent, M.A., The Rectory, Cheltenham.
Bellows, John, Gloucester.
Bengough, John Charles, The Ridge, Wotton-under-Edge.
Bennett, T. C., Terra Nova, Tyndall's Park, Bristol.

Bennett, Mrs. T C., Terra Nova, Tyndall's Park, Bristol.
Bever, E. J., Q.C., 9, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London.
*Biddell, Sidney, Farm Hill House, Stroud.
*Birchall, J. Dearman, Bowden Hall, Gloucester.
Beedham, B.H., Ashfield House, Kimbolton, Huntingdonshire.
Blackburne, G. I. Montague, 11, Worcester Crescent, Clifton.
Blacker, Rev. B. H., M.A., Elton Villas, Slad Road, Stroud.
Blathwayt, Rev. Wynter T., M.A., Dyrham Rectory, Chipping Sodbury.
Blunt, Rev. J. H., M.A., F.S.A., Beverston Rectory, Tetbury.
Booth, Abraham, Bellevue House, Gloucester.
Boulger, G.S., F.G.S., Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester.
*Bourne, Rev. G. Drinkwater, M.A., Weston-sub-Edge, Broadway.
Bowly, Christopher, Quern's Hill, Cirencester.
*Bowman, John, Langford House, 8, White Ladies' Road, Clifton.
Boyce, Rev. William, M.A., 6, Berkeley Place, Cheltenham.
Braikenridge, W. Jerdone, Newton House, Clevedon.
Braikenridge, Rev. G. W., M.A., Clevedon, Somerset.
*Bramble, James Roger, Sutherland House, Apsley Road, Clifton.
*Bravender, John, F.G.S., The Firs, Cirencester.
Bridgman, Isaac Thomas, Berkeley.
Briggs, William, St. Stephen Street, Bristol.
Brown, Rev. A. Morton, LL.D., 3, St. Margaret's Terrace, Cheltenham.
*Browne, Rev. Canon, M.A., The Vicarage, Almondsbury.
Bruton, H. W., Bewick House, Wotton, Gloucester.
Brydges, E. T., Burghill, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham.
Buchanan, James, Gloucester "Standard."
Buckley, Rev. Joseph, M.A., Sopworth Rectory, Chippenham.
Buckman, Professor, Stratford Abbas, near Sherborne, Dorset.
Budd, F. Nonus, Barrister-at-Law, Harley Place, Clifton.
Budgett, William Henry, Stoke House, Stoke Bishop.
Burder, G. F., M.D., F.M.S., 63, Oakfield Road, Clifton.
Burges, Edward, The Ridge, Chipping Sodbury.
Bush, Edward, Alveston, near Bristol.
Bush, James, 4, Great George Street, Bristol.
Bush, James Day, Mount Beacon House, Bath.
Bush, John, 9, Pembroke Road, Clifton.
Butler, William, Clifton Grove, Clifton.
Butterworth, Rev. George, M.A., Deerhurst, Tewkesbury.

*Caldicott, Rev. J. W., D.D., Grammar School, Bristol.
Campbell, Sir James, Bart., Whitemead Park, Coleford.
Cardew, G. A., General Hospital, Cheltenham.
Cardew, Rev. John Haydon, M.A., Cambray Pavilion, Cheltenham.
Carr, A., Placerville, Wells Road, Bristol.
Carter, W. F., Newnham.
Cartwright, F. F., 8, Windsor Terrace, Clifton.
Carpenter, Wm. Lant, B.A., B.Sc., Winifred House, 110, Pembroke Road, Clifton.
Castle, Richard, Richmond House, Redland Green.
Cattell, Thomas William, Kings Stanley, Stonehouse
*Cave, Charles D., M.A., J.P., Stoneleigh House, Clifton Park.
Chamberlain, Henry T., Caynham Villa, Royal Park, Clifton.
Chamney, Rev. R. M., M.A., Cheltenham
Chance, T. H., *Journal* Office, Gloucester.
Chaplin, Percy, Chavenage House, Tetbury.
Chapman, Rev. William, Whitehall, Stroud.
Cheltenham Library.
Chilton, George Horace David, Cambridge Park, Redland.

*Church, A. H., M.A., F.C.S., Royston House, Richmond Road, Kew.
Clark, Alfred Alex., Wells, Somerset.
*Clark, George T., F.S.A., Dowlais House, Dowlais.
*Clark, Thos. C., M.D., 11, Victoria Square, Clifton.
Clarke, Rev. Canon, D.D., Park Place, Clifton.
Clarke, Miss, Dinas House, Wells Road, Bristol.
Clegram, William Brown, Saul Lodge, near Stonehouse.
Clifford, The Hon. and Rt. Rev. Bishop, Bishop's House, Clifton.
Clough, R. L., 13, Bellevue, Clifton.
Collie, John C., Windsor Terrace, Clifton.
Colman, Stuart, Leigh Woods, Clifton.
Cooke, J. Herbert, F.S.A., Berkeley.
Cooke, Francis, M.D., Suffolk Lawn, Cheltenham.
Cornford, Rev. Edward, M.A., Lansdown Lodge, Cheltenham.
*Cornwall, Rev., Alan Kingscote, M.A., Ashcroft, Wotton-under-Edge.
Cox, Alfred, Thornhayes, Clifton.
Crawshay, Edwin, Blaisdon Hall, Newnham.
Cripps, Wilfred, Barrister-at-Law, Cirencester.
Crisp, H., Weston-super-Mare.
Croggan, Edmund, Beaufort House, Clifton.
Crossman, George D., Friezewood, near Bristol.
Crothers, Wallace G., Highfields, Chew Magna.

Daniel, Rev. Henry Arthur, M.A., Stockland, Bridgwater.
D'Argent, Edward Augustus, Bibury Cottage, London Road, Cheltenham.
Davis, Sir John F., Bart., K.C.B., F.R.S., Hollywood.
Davies, David, 2, Queen Square, Bristol.
*Davy, Rev. C. R., Tracy Park, Bath.
Day, Francis, Kenilworth House, Cheltenham.
*De Ferrières, Baron, Bayshill House, Cheltenham.
*Dent, John Croucher, Sudely Castle, Winchcomb.
Derham, Henry, Frenchay.
Derham, James, Sneyd Park.
*Derham, Samuel, Henleaze Park, Westbury-on-Trym.
*Derham, Walter, M.A., F.G.S., Henleaze Park, Westbury-on-Trym.
Devereux, D., M.D., J.P., Tewkesbury.
Dobell, C. Faulkner, Whittington Court, Andoversford.
Dobell, Clarence Mason, The Grove, Chalton Kings, Cheltenham.
Dobson, Nelson, C., 11, Lansdown Place, Clifton.
Doggett, E. G., 31, Richmond Terrace, Clifton.
Doggett, Hugh Greenfield, Kensington Villas, Clifton.
*Dorington, J. E., Lypiatt Park, Stroud.
Downing, William, Fern Cottage, Acock's Green, near Birmingham.
*Ducie, the Right Hon. the Earl of, P.C., F.R.S.
Dutton, Hon. Edward, 2, St. James' Place, London, S.W.
Dyke, Rev. William, M.A., The Rectory, Bagendon, Cirencester.
Dynevor, The Right Hon. Lord, Dursley.

Eager, Reginald, M.D., Northwoods, Winterbourne, Bristol.
Edkins, William, 12, Charlotte Street, Park Street, Bristol.
*Edwards, Alderman, George W., Sea-wall Villas, Sneyd Park.
Egerton, J. W., Elgin Park, Redland.
Ellacombe, Rev. H. T., M.A., F.S.A., The Rectory, Clyst St. George, Topsham.
Ellacombe, Rev. N. A., M.A., Vicarage, Bitton.
Ellett, Robert, Chesterton, Cirencester.
Ellis, A.S., 1, Westminster Chambers, London, S.W.
Ellis-Viner, Rev. A.W., B.A., Badgeworth, near Cheltenham.

*Emeris, Rev. John, M.A,, The Rectory, Upton St. Leonard's, Gloucester.
Evans, O. L., Humberstone Lodge, Leicester.
Evans, Thomas, M.D., Mynd House, Gloucester.
Evans, Spark, 3, Apsley Road, Clifton.
Evans, I.B., 6, Douro Villa, Cheltenham.
Everard, Rev. E. J., B.A., Tormarton Rectory, Chipping Sodbury.

Fargus, Henry R., 4, Clare Street, Bristol.
Fedden, S., Clifton.
Fenwick, Rev. J. E. A., M.A., Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham.
Flewett, Thomas, Newnham.
Flux, Edward Hutchings, 158, Leadenhall Street, London.
Forbes, Lieut.-Col., G.H.A., R.A., Rockstone, Dursley.
Foster, John, 6, Park Street, Bristol.
Foster, R. G., Gloucester.
Fox, Alderman, Francis Fk., 72, Pembroke Road, Clifton.
Fox, Rev. William Charles, 12, Kilburn Park Road, London, N.W.
Fox, Charles Henry, M.D., The Beeches, Brislington.
Foxcroft, E. T. D., J.P., D.L., 11, Widcombe, House, Bath.
Frampton, Rev. Canon, Vicarage, Tetbury.
Francis, George Edward, Buckstone Cottage, near Coleford.
Fry, Francis, F.S.A., Tower House, Cotham.
Fry, Francis J., 104, Pembroke Road, Clifton.
*Fry, Lewis, M.P., Goldney House, Clifton.
Fryer, Kedgwin Hoskins, Maitland House, Gloucester.
Fuller, Rev. E. A., St. Barnabas Vicarage, Ashley Road, Bristol.

Gael, Samuel, H., J.P., Battledown Knoll, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham,
Garde, Rev., Thomas Hugh, M.A., 2, All Saints' Villas, Cheltenham.
Gardiner, George, 1, Redcliff Hill, Bristol.
Gardiner, T. C., Handworth Villa, Cotham New Road, Bristol.
Geeves, William, Jireh House, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham.
*George, W. E., Howe Croft, Stoke Bishop.
George, William, 26, Park Street, Bristol.
Gibson, Rev. John, M.A., King Stanley Rectory, Stonehouse.
Giles, Oliver, 16, Bellevue Crescent, Clifton.
Giller, William Thomas, 3, Kingsholme Villas, Gloucester.
Godwin, George, F.R.S., 6, Cromwell Place, London.
Golding, Charles, 55, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London.
Golightly, Rev. T.G., M.A., Shipton Moyne Rectory, Tetbury.
Gooding, John Callender, M.D., Alconbury, Cheltenham.
Gosling, Rev. J. F., M.A., Bream Vicarage, Lydney.
Gotch, Rev. F. W., LL.D., Stoke's Croft, Bristol.
Graham-Clarke, John A., Frocester Manor House, Stonehouse.
Gregory, George, The Green, Stroud.
Gregory, W. H., 8, Meridian Place, Clifton.
Green, Rev. J. F., M.A., Treddington Vicarage, Tewesbury.
Griffith, Robert W., Llandaff.
Grist, William Charles, St. Mary's, Chalford, Stroud.
Grove, Commander R.N., The Grove, Taynton, near Gloucester.
*Guise, Sir William Vernon, Bart., Elmore Court, Gloucester.
*Gwinnett, Wm. Henry, Gordon Cottage, Cheltenham.

Haines, John Poole, Cheltenham.
Hale, Robert, Alderney, Wotton-under-Edge.
Halsall, Edward, 4, Somerset Street, Kingsdown, Bristol.
Hall, Rev. J. M., M.A., Sevenhampton Vicarage, Cheltenham.

Hall, Rev. R., M.A., Flaxley, Newnham.
*Hallett, P., M.A., Claverton Lodge, Bath (Hon Sec.)
*Hallett, Mrs., Claverton Lodge, Bath.
Hallewell, Joseph Watts, Stratford Court, Stroud.
*Harding, Rev John Taylor, Pentwyn, Monmouth.
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Harvey, Charles Octavius, Clifton Park House, Clifton.
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